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THE MAN NEXT DOOR

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THE MAN NEXT DOOR

BY

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1919

DEDICATION

To the one woman in all the world who is my inspiration, my hope, my comfort, my joy, my life—MY MOTHER.

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THE MAN NEXT DOOR

CHAPTER I

The Outlook

There is some doubt in the mind of the writer as to whether or not he should make some form of apology for adding to the already groaning library shelves another book upon the race question. Doubt in the beginning of a book does not appear to augur well for the policy of its contents, but after all it is the uncertainties in worldly affairs that make the problems of life. The gambling instinct uppermost in most human beings places them in about the same relation to a "sure thing" as Nature is said to bear toward a vacuum. The indecision remains but we have decided to make no apology at this time. Who knows what may be made both expedient and necessary later on?

The individual who coined that trite and rather unhappy expression "Negro Problem" should not be permitted to escape without a monument. He

has been a boon to pro and anti-writers and speakers upon this most absorbing question. The phrase has fallen rather glibly and freely from the ends of tongues and pens for many years, all of which has tended to narrow a human issue down into a race issue. Throughout the world's history race groups have always presented individual characteristics which make them first a race problem, but always purely a human problem demanding a human solution. The method of solution must be governed by the urge of the times. It is hardly to be expected that our present-day racial problems are to be solved by the barbaric methods of untutored and uncivilized ancients, yet one's memory need not be much more than a few days long to recall that in certain sections inhuman and barbaric methods tend to prevail. In each instance, however, the result is negative and demoralizing. Violence teaches no lesson; it creates fear which is ephemeral and tends to develop into hatred and anarchy, thus making the problem more acute.

The discussions of the past relative to the Negro and the part he plays in world affairs have done much good and some harm. No discussion can escape that fate. A great deal of zeal and energy has been used up in argument for and against the Negro, growing out of the various human emotions sincerity, insincerity, love, hatred, hope, alarm and most of all, impatience. Throughout it all the Negro has smiled and flinched, flinched and smiled, al-

ways emerging less a problem and more a purely human issue, requiring a human satisfaction and adjustment. Unquestionably the Negro during the dark and uncertain days of American slavery was truly a problem fraught with conditions and difficulties many and varied, destined to shake the very foundations of the nation. Slavery has always been one of the world's greatest problems which has always solicited but one solution and that is freedom. America knew that sooner or later she had to face that solution and pay the penalty, the price for her unwholesome transgressions against human liberty. Then the Negro was truly a problem fatal to the interests of a nation founded upon the sainted principles of democracy. For these principles men fought, bled and died. Out of the chaos the nation witnessed the evolution of a chattel into a citizen, into an American. Thus ended the Negro problem. Ever since the question has been one of human attitude and relation of citizen to citizen, black man to white man, American to American.

The condition and position of the Negro in America to-day is the result of the misunderstanding of race values by both white men and black men alike. After more than two hundred years of the dehumanizing effects of slavery, liberty alone cannot set free the souls of men, yet men they were not, but mere children. Children in word, spirit, deed and action! The growth and develop-

ment of a child to be safe, sane and rational must be gradual. Impatience upon the part of either the child or its parents, linked with misunderstandings upon the part of both, is calculated to stem the progress of all concerned. American slavery and its consequent emancipation must be regarded as two rather long and sudden steps in the evolution of the Negro in America. Separated from the glorious and inspiring antiquity of his illustrious black for-bears, crushed in the lingering, tightening grasp of slavery, then suddenly thrust into the blinding light of physical freedom, the Negro emerged a child, a child race, a new race, thus completing the cycle of human evolution. Let all men, black and white, understand these conditions. Let black men take hope, be patient and rejoice in being a new race with new possibilities, new ambitions and new accomplishments, just ahead. Let white men take pride in the part they have played in the evolution of a new race, and realize that a race worth fighting and dying for is worth living for. Thus will understanding be born, creating a full and perfect knowledge of race values and the relation they bear to each other in their attitude of man to man, man to God in the presence of the Creator of all.

Present-day discussions upon the question of race must take new angles in order to conform with the new times. Heretofore the Negro has been an unrecognized and undiscovered human as-

set with untold economic possibilities. The matter of race values and the interdependency of all races must find a definite and assuredly positive place in the various policies of any nation which is made up of several race groups. In the statement of this fact we fully believe that racial conflict, strife and differences inspiring as they do struggle, jealousy and ambition are essential to the progress of the whole group of mankind. While racial conflict, strife and differences shall continue to generate struggle, jealousy and ambition, upon the result of which great nations are built, there must be an equitable understanding and adjustment among the races free from hatred and prejudice, if the nation itself hopes to maintain a sure foundation. Let there be as the honest business man says, "a friendly rivalry," out of which shall be woven a strong and everlasting national fabric consistent with, embracing and assuring the perpetuation of the various policies which guarantee national honor and uplift. Each and every race group whether weak or strong contributes its part to the general make-up of the state. True it may be the worst sort of contribution in the form of poverty or crime, but both are essential in order to assure recognition for wealth and rectitude. This is said with the full knowledge that no one race group ever contributes all the poverty, crime, wealth or rectitude, all of which goes further to prove and show that the human element, rather than the racial, is the big thing

with which the state nation are concerned.

But the general rules and their acceptance upon matters racial in America do not, for some strange and undefinable reason, include the American Negro. America, the greatest polyglot nation in all the world, accepts without prejudice, except in the mildest degree, yea, even invites every race from everywhere to share in American-made opportunities. Inducements are made to them, their sojourn is made both pleasant and profitable, with the hope of effecting in them perfect Americanization. Upon the other hand, there are in America twelve million American Negroes whose presence is merely tolerated with a most vehement prejudice, and whose every attempt to share in American-made opportuities is determinedly thwarted in a most shameless and shocking manner. No inducements are made to have them remain, in truth, plans have been devised looking toward a wholesale deportation of these American citizens. Every effort is made to humiliate them, make their sojourn both unpleasant and unprofitable with no thought of effecting in them perfect Americanization. On top of all this the race groups which have immigrated to America by a gradual but sure process of induction, which represents a vital part of the process of Americanization, soon assume and show the American prejudice against the American Negro. Thus the American Negro faces the crux of the whole situation as he realizes that all the rules of the race

game are against him, seeing that it is simply an alignment of white against black, all white races being one in the struggle.

From this somewhat gloomy picture the Negro must gain his entire lesson in the school of race-making. Verily he discovers himself heretofore an unrecognized, undiscovered and unorganized human asset. Unrecognized and undiscovered by both himself and his white brother. Himself unorganized! Then must come truth throbbing into his dazed brain, enlightening him to the fact that it is not request but conquest that wins a place in the affairs of the world for men and races.

This may well be called the "efficiency age" or epoch of American history. The value of the individual is reckoned in efficiency units which indicate his worth to his neighbor, community, employer and state as a producer. As with the individual so with races. The task before the Negro to-day, to-morrow and every day is to develop along the lines of modern efficiency. As an individual and as a race he must struggle to become a greater economic asset in the world. In other words, he must realize that when he becomes a decided and increasing money value the flimsy veil of color shall be swept aside and forgotten. Dollars and cents will make him a power such as nothing else can. The potentiality of the dollar has a most wonderful effect in America to ward off insults and threats and is just as forceful in demanding the highest

sort of recognition. But pessimism and grumbling upon the part of the Negro cannot accomplish this end. The "Negro Problem" is a myth of other days. The world is so engaged in busy activities that no one has time to think of it except when it is called into use by the white man as a vehicle for the practice of his prejudice, and by the Negro as an excuse for his short-comings. The sooner it is forgotten and we catch the spirit of the age the better it will be for us and the world. All the great issues of the day revolve about and depend upon the great central economic sun for their light, their growth and their being. The one great question the Negro has to answer is, shall he be an asset or a liability to the world? Upon his answer depends his destiny.

Slowly but surely altruism is winning out in its struggle against selfishness. Strange and paradoxical as it may seem, altruism is the child of selfishness, which first saw the light of day as industrial altruism. Big business anxious to increase the quantity and quality of its products which would in turn increase its gains, began to recognize the economic value of the toiler and turned its attention to his welfare. The result was greater efficiency, greater gain and a closer human touch which engendered a greater regard upon the part of both. No man, whatever his motive may be, can help lift up his brother man without lifting up himself. In the very act he must bend to the task, and when

he arises therefrom he brings up two men, himself and his brother, and the close human touch has made both better men. All unconsciously, perhaps, that altruism taught and practiced in the life of Christ has trickled down into the hearts of both, making one content and fit to save, and the other happy and fit to serve.

Radiating from industrialism the spirit of altruism demanded and received a hearty welcome and recognition elsewhere, until to-day we see it manifested in various degrees in almost every human activity. It even asserts itself in warfare. It has become a compelling force in human nature which will not down. Big industrialism is beginning to open its doors to Negroes in a small way which is fraught with wonderful possibilities. Thrift and efficiency must be the guiding stars for the black man through this vale of trial, which surely leads to a better understanding and a friendlier feeling between the races.

Throughout this discussion it shall be our aim and purpose to emphasize with all force possible that the one great hope for the Negro in America is for him to become a permanent and fixed economic asset to his country. We are firm in the belief that during the process thereof and forever thereafter all the rest of the full rights and delights of a real citizenship shall be added unto him. Unquestionably he must expect to meet upon every hand prejudice which is embarrassing, inconveni-

ent, distracting, discouraging, unnecessary, unreasonable and unprofitable, but it shall be the surmounting of these obstacles that makes the race worthy and fit for its high calling. We are inclined to be rather optimistic and get much delight and joy in being a "problem." It is better to be a "problem" than nothing at all. The imaginary lines of prejudice are amusing to the Negro when he stops to wonder if they are satisfying to the white man. One of the greatest lawyers the Negro race ever produced used to say: "the Negro knows the white man better than the white man knows himself, because he never hesitates to show his mean, small side to the Negro, but always tries to keep from revealing it to other white men." To this we add that the Negro knows the Negro better than the white man knows him. The only possible conclusion to be drawn from these statements is that the Negro seems to occupy a point of vantage, a seat upon a pinnacle as it were, from which he, unobserved, views the comedy of the races and smiles so knowingly.

It is our hope and intention that this discussion upon racial matters shall be an entirely dispassionate one. Nothing can be accomplished by ribald attack, nothing can be gained. Our purpose is to try and effect an understanding between the races, which shall be helpful to both without undignifying either. To accomplish this purpose we must lay bare and expose the faults of both, for both races

are to blame for conditions as they do now exist. We are seekers after the truth at all times, believing that to know is to enjoy, and to know the truth is to be free and enjoy all the emoluments of that liberty.

Truth may at first offend and wound, but its final and ultimate effect is to adjust, satisfy and heal.

CHAPTER II

Citizenship and Patriotism

America is the stage upon which to-day there is being enacted a great life drama in which the Negro is the central figure, yet for obvious reasons not the star. The drama is both interesting and at times intense, yet there is a pathetic and visible lack of cohesive ensemble; because the actors are out of harmony. Ofttimes during its long and somewhat irksome run the performers have soared to dizzy heights of histrionic exaltation. Indeed, quite as frequently they have fallen to the depths of a serio-comic farce, undignifying and travestying the very name of the drama which is entitled "Citizenship."

Citizenship in America so far as the Negro is concerned is a mood rather than a condition, a theory rather than a fact. Herein lies the whole difficulty in the matter of racial adjustment. Again and again plan after plan has been proposed and projected but the end sought has not yet been reached. Legally the Negro is a citizen, actually he is little more than an alien. What is citizenship? Rather what is the American idea of citizenship? It seems quite certain that no one dares offer a

definition, for it is such a flexible vagary that what it was yesterday, it is not to-day or to-morrow. Janus-faced it has one mood for white Americans and one for black Americans. But, what *should* citizenship be? Citizenship *should* be that state of being experienced and enjoyed by an individual who by birth, adoption or natuarilzation allies himself to the nation, with the assurance that freedom, opportunity and protection, regulated by justice, economic, social and political shall be fully guaranteed him by said nation, in return for which he pledges and gives unstinted loyalty and support at all times and under all conditions to the Government thereof.

Citizenship founded upon any basis other than this signifies a weak and unwholesome national policy which eventually portends national failure and disintegration. The life, character, development, progress and integrity of a nation depend upon the attitude of the individual citizen. The nation in which there is so much unrest due to causes remedial in character, unrest which is more silent than expressed, might be likened unto an absent-minded fellow sitting on a keg of gun-powder smoking a cigar and whittling a point on a stick of dynamite. Nothing may happen, but the possibilities are, to say the least, a bit suggestive.

The American Negro is thoroughly conscious of and keenly feels the cutting lash of the color line which restricts his citizenship. His visible restless-

ness has not yet forcefully asserted itself for reasons that are at once obvious and essential in the development of a new people a few years away from the dehumanizing effects of slavery. This low muttering delirium of racial strife and discontentment, is a grave symptom which makes prognosis as to national health a difficult and uncertain matter. The one great principle upon which America has made her plea for world-wide popularity and greatness among all nations, is love of human liberty. A liberty which has not always been hers, but which she won after long years of trial and bloody struggle! Yet in truth, liberty in America is a relative term which has no real significance and is always capable of influence and adjustment to meet the occasion by false standards, dogma and doubt. There are two standards for liberty here, one for white and one for blacks. "Men in this world get only what they give, prejudice for prejudice, animosity for animosity, hate for hate. Likewise confidence is returned for confidence, goodwill for good-will, friendship for friendship. On this rule, which is the same for the nation as for the individual, I would now act."[1]

This distinctly bi-racial type of American citizenship is further subdivided into a Northern and Southern phase which though alike in kind suffers different interpretation and application. The Southern attitude in the matter is a definite though ludicrous one, while that in the North is both indefinite

(1) Charles Sumner.

and maladroit, always tainted with a craven sense of conscious malfeasance. In the North the Negro gets a restricted citizenship with a muttered apology. In the South he gets a restricted citizenship reduced to its lowest terms without apology, without any pang of conscience, and without nuance. Even in the North the muttered apology has shaded into a whisper and is heard less frequently as the years go by. The Northern attitude is humiliating, embarrassing and annoying and breeds an embittered sense of contempt and irreverence for the boasted American law and ideals which truckle to malicious whim. The Southern attitude is terrifying, awe-inspiring and discouraging, unleashing the savage hounds of hate, vengeance and blood-lust, the results of which are only too well known throughout the world as the great blot upon the escutcheon of American civilization and vaunted principles of liberty. While these two pictures are true, the worst side of both is revealed. From an economic standpoint the South offers the Negro more than the North by way of employment and industrial opportunity, but on the other hand grants him a scanty bit of security, personal or otherwise in protecting the fruit of his labors. The North grants a full security and protection at all times but it withholds economic opportunity, a condition of affairs to a very great degree due to the myopic activity of the white labor unions of the North—and for them a sad but much-needed

awakening is due. Yet it is interesting to note that to-day because of certain circumstances better labor conditions are being opened to the Negro in the North, an experiment and practice, the results of which will be keenly observed by those interested.

Thus it is seen that there is no ideal place in America where the Negro may have his state of being, experience and enjoy to the highest and fullest degree a real, true and absolute citizenship. In this plight the Negro finds himself after fifty years of freedom, decretal freedom, in the midst of a busy world which sectionally divides itself in giving to him little hope, little opportunity, little security and little encouragement. Marshall, a leading economist, says: "Freedom and hope increase not only man's willingness but also his power for work. Security of person and property are two conditions of this hopefulness and freedom."

Fifty years of freedom! Alas! What a cruel jest upon manhood, humanity, Christianity, when one race, forsooth, must count its freedom in years while another boasts of centuries of freedom? By what laws of God, evolution, nature or man can you create in your most vivid imagination anything like an equal struggle for existence when two such incomparable inequalities occupy the same field of endeavor? In a struggle between a cat and a lion for the possession of a mouse, upon which would you stake your money? In a race between a cripple and an athlete would you hazard a chance on the

cripple? I know the answer. You would sympathize with both the cat and the cripple, but you would bet on the lion and the athlete. Both attributes are intensely human, one is prompted by charity, the other by business. As the struggle progresses sympathy degenerates into indifference, aye, even into disgust at the presumption of the cat and the cripple, and you think only of the business of the proposition.

The unenviable position of the cat and the cripple is that occupied by the Negro to-day. When he was given his liberty fifty years ago, the world looked on aghast with a mingled sense of sympathy and wonder as to his possible outcome in the struggle ahead. Many said he would soon become extinct, others that he would drift back into savagery, and various other prophesies were made, most of which foresaw only racial disintegration. Just as mistakes were made in the prophetic visions of men in that day relative to the Negro, the same are being made to-day regarding his possibilities for the finest and highest attainments which demand an untrammeled citizenship. Then nearly all sympathized with him; some gave him a hand and bade him rise and be a man. He accepted the aid and advice of the latter, with what result everyone to-day knows. If sympathy be genuine and is sown upon fertile soil, in the hearts of Christian men and women it should grow into love. Every Negro in the world knows, with few exceptions, that it has

not so developed, but instead it has degenerated into an indifferent disgust which almost savors of hatred. Where is the fault? Was it the seed or the soil? Who has forgot the law of God, the sympathized or the sympathizer? Unquestionably both are to blame for present-day conditions of racial strife in America.

The sudden leap from slavery to freedom was well-nigh superhuman, and attended with a terrific shock that dulled the senses of both black and white. It was like the rushing from darkness into light, and the consequent blindess that no human can avoid. The white was the first to recover from the shock of freedom, and straightaway he went about to play upon the credulity of the simple, childish black in such a manner as to bring shame to his boasted civilization, and undying sectional hatred for the former slave. The stench arising from the reconstruction period of American history rivals that emanating from the ulcer of slavery.

Yet withal, the Negro, pitied, hated, and accused of all the sins and outrageous faults known to humanity, has stubbornly fought for fifty years in a struggle for existence as unequal as that between the cat and the lion, the cripple and the athlete. Not only has he fought, but his must stubborn detractors must admit that in a measure he has won, and is still winning. While this is in no way intended as an ethnological discussion, especially emphasizing the origin of the Negro race, the staying

power of the black race has a ponderous significance. This fact alone proves to me and should prove to every thinking man and woman, the antiquity of the Negro, with his long line of kingly ancestors who have handed down to their children and their children's children the blood of heroes. No race, except in whose veins courses the blood of conquering heroes and righteous priests of antiquity could have withstood all the sorrows, suffering, deprivation, humiliation and degradation which the Negro has known, and after only fifty years of a relative freedom show a rather marked degree of success in a civilization which knows but little sentiment except that spelled in dollars and cents. When the shackles fell the black man stood free, but penniless. He was even poorer than penniless, for he knew not the value of the penny. He knew not the world and its terrific struggle for the penny. But he awoke and sensed the great world idea, and to-day reveals him in the light of a property owner, a mild but rather persistent contender for financial betterment, out of which must grow a more steadfast consciousness of economic adjustment to the exactions of the present and the future.

Now, to the morals of the Negro race. Savagery is monotonous. Purity is monotonous. Hence savagery is purity. Civilization is variety. Impurity is variety. Hence civilization is impurity. The black like all other races, in his savage state, was pure. In slavery he was first unmoral because ignorant,

even as many of the lowest types of all races are to-day, but finally he became immoral when brought closer to civilization. In freedom and civilization he has learned the lessons of immorality, but, from whom? There are to-day in both black and white races alike highly moral persons, and intensely immoral ones. Immorality draws no color line, knows none. Being unmoral is pardonable. Being immoral is unpardonable, but unfortunately permissible. Immorality increases with civilization's quest for variety. The opportunities for immoral actions which great wealth affords are shockingly numerous. The immunities established by wealth, culture and refinement, paradoxical as it may at first appear, cause many a wink at immorality. The white man boasts of the highest civilization, the greatest wealth, the broadest culture and the most perfect refinement. The Negro after fifty years of contact as a freedman cannot hope to match his brother in white with such an array of embellishments, and their consequent immorality. The Negro is willing to be judged by these conclusions. Is the white man?

A prominent society woman of New York recently declared upon the public platform that society women are themselves the cause of vice, in the following terms: "Society women are to blame because the influence and example of society seep down to the less prominent girls and women who make up every community. These girls and women

copy so-called high society in dress and dancing. Nothing has happened in the history of this country or of the world to lower morals and moral standing more than the dressing and the dancing of the present day. A remarkable thing is that on one side societies for sex hygiene and the uplift of the morals are increasing rapidly and on the other hand there is an increasing laxity of morals. Many people who ought to help toward public opinion show their neglect in doing so in their general dress and conduct." This makes good my original conclusion that civilization is impurity because it always seeks variety. It seems quite certain that the question of Negro immorality prompted no part of the above discussion.

When the daily press of the country, in flaming headlines, calls attention to the latest act of rape, rapine or murder committed by some irresponsible vicious black, the world is inclined to sit in judgment upon the whole race for the act of this pathological product of mankind. Viciousness is always pathological. Viciousness is a disease that spares neither black nor white. No race is immune therefrom. The viciousness of the white race has been immortalized in poem, song and drama ad nauseam. The viciousness of the black man has been used as an accusing finger directed toward the entire race. This apposition is interesting, significant and unfortunate! Both races should strive to know and emphasize the best of each other. They already know the worst.

Mr. Wilson, President of the United States, speaks: "What I have tried to do is to get rid of any class division in this country, not only, but of any class consciousness and feeling. The worst thing that could happen to America would be that she should be divided into groups and camps in which there are men and women who thought that they were at odds with one another; that the spirit of America was not expressed except in them, and that possibilities of antagonism were the only things that we had to look forward to. * * * Achievement is a comparatively small matter, but the spirit in which things are done is of the essence of the whole thing, and what I am striving for, and what I hope you are striving for, is to blot out all the lines of division in America and create a unity of spirit and of purpose founded upon this, the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort, and that if we do not understand each other, we are not true Americans."

"If we cannot enter into each other's thoughts, if we cannot comprehend each others interest, if we cannot serve each other's essential welfare, then we have not yet qualified as representatives of the American spirit. Nothing alarms America so much as rifts, divisions, the drifting apart of elements among her people, and the thing we ought all to strive for is to close up every rift, and the only way to do it, so far as I can see, is to establish justice not only, but justice with a heart in it, justice with

a pulse in it; justice with sympathy in it. Justice can be cold and forbidding, or it can be warm and welcome, and the latter is the only kind of justice that Americans ought to desire. I do not believe I am deceiving myself when I say that I think this spirit is growing in America. I pray God it may continue to grow, and all I have to say is to exhort everyone whom my voice reaches here or elsewhere to come into this common movement of humanity."

This most wonderful appeal for "justice with a heart in it," with its high note of warning against the peril of class feeling coming from the lips and evidently from the heart of the Chief Executive of this great nation should strike a responsive chord in the souls of all good, true and patriotic Americans. This appeal for "justice with a heart in it" is the burden of the Negro's song. It is the one thing above all else for which he begs, cries, hopes, prays and strives. Yet in America our Christian idea of justice comes up to the color line and there balks, and never crosses. While the Negro begs, cries, hopes, prays and strives for justice it is in no sense a charity appeal, but a great broad, defensive policy, the importance and significance of which this nation may come to realize too soon or—too late. Physical evolution has reached the ultimate. All progress in the future must be mental, hence social. This does not mean that the Negro asks for social equality, but social justice, economic justice, political justice. The rest will come.

The President's words are used here because they so thoroughly coincide with the idea of what America should stand for in her relation to the Negro, but it is extremely doubtful and highly improbable that the Chief Executive had this class of citizens in his mind, for he was addressing a congratulatory delegation from the American Federation of Labor. There is no record of any Negro being present.

The hatred and stigma for and upon the Negro which had its origin during the baneful period of reconstruction has reaped a heritage in the form of certain social, economic and political restrictions which are dangerous to American freedom. First it was the outgrowth of factional and sectional political trickery, but finally and always an inhibition of human rights without regard to the principles upon which Americanism is founded. Vicious attacks and especially designed oppression upon a weak people do not increase the strength of a strong people. If superior why oppress?

The making of laws, which to all intents and purposes are aimed at certain groups of citizens and the curtailment of their privileges is an unsafe process which is bound to strike at the very vitals of national patriotism. Discontent and patriotism are incompatible. Such legislation is insane and unsafe. It reflects upon the dignity of a nation. No true American wants such a country or such a con-

dition. The classes who are bringing about or have brought about such legislation are traitors in every sense of the word, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, yet always blinded with hate, the red glare of hate. The other classes who, according to past traditions, are looked upon to assume the defensive against such treachery cannot be reckoned as better citizens just so long as they permit the hate of unconcern and indifference to stay their hands against this national suicide. The nation or the individual who learns to practice deception soon learns to have no regard for his victim, and his own brother is not safe. Bias of courts becomes a habit which makes of law a mockery and their cleverness in making easy oppression by white against black will some day be placed in operation by white against white. That law which cannot be big enough and broad enough to serve and protect the weak will some day be useless alike to both weak and strong.

Patriotism among its citizens is an asset for which every nation strives. The wealth of a nation depends in a large measure upon the loyalty of its citizens. Certainly the protection of its wealth depends upon the patriotism of the citizens. Everyone will agree that citizenship and patriotism should go hand in hand. Is it then equally fair to assume that only restricted patriotism should be expected of restricted citizenship? There we are again with that biting, cutting color line, which will

immediately drag itself into American affairs, demanding two separate card index systems, one for full citizenship and patriotism and the other for partial citizenship and patriotism. 'No, this could not be," says American law, "we grant a full citizenship and we exact a full degree of loyalty." But on the other hand that great Gibraltar of American prejudice says, "Have just so much of freedom and citizenship as I see fit to give you, yet we exact of you absolute patriotism." How then can the Negro reconcile himself to these two rather conflicting opinions? How is he doing so?

It seems quite certain that there can be no good and wholesome citizenship without the same sort of patriotism. The man who works against the social, political and economic welfare of his nation is not a patriot, and his rights of citizenship should be curtailed. There are always two classes of patriots, war-time patriots and peace patriots. The man who carries a gun into the field of battle to defend his country may be the worst sort of traitor to his nation in times of peace. On the other hand it is difficult to imagine a man whose patriotism asserts itself in efforts to maintain, preserve and increase the integrity of his nation in times of peace, shirking his duty in time of war. He has more to fight for, a higher purpose always actuating his energies. We are inclined to think of the peace patriot as both constant and consistent, the

war-time patriot as inconstant and inconsistent. However, the good citizen is both. This is the only condition upon which we can reconcile citizenship and patriotism

The American Negro has consistently lived up to this idea of citizenship and patriotism, both in times of war and peace in so far as racial prejudice has permitted him. The record of the Negro soldier stands as a great beacon light in American history. In peace he is loyal, anxious and desirous to be a greater asset in the preservation of American integrity than he really is because of certain humiliating and baneful restrictions. I know of intelligent Negroes and ignorant Negroes who hesitate to salute the American flag because, as they say, "it means nothing to us" and "its protection is for white men only." This condition of affairs is seriously tragic, both for Negroes and America. Both are in error. It is just from such conditions as this that anarchy, which saps the life-blood of a nation, is born. Yet the American Negro is not an anarchist and never will be. This the white American knows with a certainty which makes him callous and indifferent as to the citizenship rights of the Negro. But the principle back of the whole thing is wrong, un-American, un-patriotic and inhuman. More self-assertion on the part of the Negro, and a little more of pursuing a diplomacy of attrition are needed to bring about a definite correction of these wrongs.

America owes a great debt to the Negro. The Negro owes a great debt to America. Unalike in kind, but nevertheless two great debts which should be equitably settled for all time, upon a human basis, in which color of skin plays no part. The Negro wants this settlement, this adjustment and is willing to make certain concessions, if America is willing to relinquish certain customs and acts which have been dishonored by time and are to-day effete. The Negro to-day stands willing to admit his shortcomings of the past, in most part due to false hopes, false standards and false doctrines which have emanated from insane, unsafe and unsanitary leadership by fanatical and selfish partisans, black and white, mostly white. Race conflicts are always tragic and exhausting. Civilization has eschewed them as she, wrapping her tattered and bloodstained garments about her, turns away from bleeding Europe in tears and disgust for a racial struggle which has reddened the pages of history. The great social and racial force back of this war in which she has heard women and children weeping in unison to the cadence of the cannon's boom, has caused her to cast an anxious eye toward America, wondering if she may find a haven of rest and welcome here. America and her Negro citizens can help to set her soul at ease by the adjustment of their racial and social strife to the demands of civilization and humanitarianism. Is America willing to be big enough to do this?

am certain that the Negro is, and welcomes the opportunity.

The Negro wants a citizenship which gives opportunity to inspire a patriotism which needs no apology. To attain such a citizenship means earn it, fight for it, else it is not worth having. This is a gift the white man will never give the Negro, and no self-respecting Negro who has red blood in his veins wants it thus. Patriotism comes when the blood warms with the love of possession and the natural desire to protect and perpetuate ownership. Back of it all lies the great psychological principle of love and protection for and by that for which one has struggled, won and taken to his heart as a hostage immutable and transcendent.

CHAPTER III

Producer and Consumer

Separating the American Negro from American citizenship lies the great gulf of CAUSE, to the waters of which both black men and white men alike contribute in a constant flow of misunderstanding, dereliction, suspicion and prejudice. The effect growing out of this cause assumes a critical aspect when one stops to reckon the loss of energy entailed by this tragic disunion of forces which disintegrate national strength.

The present-day economic struggle is so acute that we cannot afford as a nation to leave a single stone unturned in our efforts to bring about a oneness of purpose and principle. The social and political unrest which threatens to shake the very foundations of government, portends a more serious catastrophe than the world has yet witnessed unless we all of one accord, above all things else resolve to satisfy the discontent of our citizens. Human rights and the brotherhood of man are the

foundation stones upon which Christianity and civilization have been built. To neglect the foundation is to undermine the structure.

Yet, upon the other hand, Christianity and civilization by way of self-protection must make certain demands of production and contribution upon the part of those who would claim the benefits thereof. What is the Negro producing? What is he contributing? What is his relative position as producer and consumer? Is the white man encouraging the Negro to become a great producer? Should the Negro wait for this encouragement? Are both adopting wrong tactics and principles?

* * * * * * * * *

The consumer who is a small producer has an uncertain value. The consumer who is extravagant and wasteful helps to increase demand with its accompanying increase of cost. The consumer who cannot or does not sacrifice makes the economic burden of the world heavier, and poverty more acute. No one needs to realize the truthfulness of these statements more than the Negro. As a race they show a marked tendency to be extravagant and wasteful, which coupled with a decided inability to sacrifice, very positively impedes their economic advancement and keeps them in relative poverty. Add to these conditions the fact that the great majority of them are poorly paid wage-earners, living in many instances beyond their means,

and we are face to face with an economic leak which strikes at the very vitals of racial progress and stability.

However, these are conditions which can and must be corrected. There are several elements contiguous to these facts and entering into their make-up which easily account for this laxity. The heritage handed down from slavery leaves its earmarks which cannot be effaced over night, nor in one, two or three generations. Slavery was an extravagant, wasteful institution which made sacrifices unnecessary and unknown. The slaveholders themselves practiced little or no economy. Their example seeped down into the slaves and became a fixture which time, education, acute economic vision and pressure alone can eradicate. Negro characteristics in the main were formed in the mold of slavery, many of which are the same as those exhibited by Southern whites. Especially is this true in the matter of extravagance, waste and non-sacrifice. Then, too, there has entered the element of discouragement, a condition instituted, fostered and maintained by the exercise of a most drastic and subtle skill on the part of the white race, thus serving to make the Negro a disciple of the "eat, drink and be merry" philosophy. The depressing effects of class distinction emanating from human slavery are difficult to displace with ambition and thrift. This task is made more complicated by concrete evidences of organized effort to propagate discouragement by a

most furtive adroitness into the souls of Negroes, ignorant and unsuspecting. Yet, upon the other hand, it is interesting to note that the black man is beginning to open his eyes. His economic vision is becoming keener in reference to the conditions which have warped his past and threaten to distort his future if he should dare be content to sit satisfied seeing through eyes other than his own. Out of this awakening this renaissance, shall be born a new day for the Negro and America.

The gentle, confiding nature of the Negro has been unrighteously imposed upon by the unscrupulous to a degree that is shockingly criminal in its various aspects. Thus he has been led to become an extravagant, injudicious, wasteful and careless consumer, from which he has derived no positive or permanent results except the momentary satisfaction of a childish greed. Negro leaders must denounce this practice of imposition upon their people in no uncertain terms. There can be no permanent racial advancement without team work, and this the black man seriously lacks, yet we are beginning to see the glimmer of a new day's sun whose rays shall warm the hearts of this people to a clearer sense of intra-racial understanding. The twelve millions of Negroes in this country form a tremendous economic asset to America, This is a truth almost unrecognized by the Negro and tacitly ignored by the white man. Herein lies the greatest opportunity possible to bring both to their senses

and effect an inter-racial understanding of a practical nature. Without that confidence which comes from conscious organization, the Negro will never be able to force conviction as to his being an economic asset. While it is to be regretted that he is a much too reckless consumer, and it is earnestly hoped that he will soon learn to refrain from such wasteful tactics, let him withal be a consistent consumer, in a way which will bring results. With the Negro race organized for collective and selective purchasing, bringing their patronage into certain channels, their demand for opportunity in the business world will at once receive a favorable hearing. Gradually but surely they will then find themselves in a position to make demands where heretofore requests have utterly failed. In short, the Negro must learn his own value, the value of organization, out of which must be formed an economic system with as few leaks as possible.

And now to the matter of production upon the part of the Negro. So often I have heard the statement made by learned people of both races that the Negro is a great consumer but decidedly a non-producer. That herein lies the one great obstacle in the way of his progress. While there is a great element of truth in such a statement it is not a whole truth. Let us together analyze this statement.

Production is direct and indirect. The affairs in all civilized lands are so nicely adjusted that it be-

comes a rather difficult matter for a man to be a consumer who is not a producer. The two go hand in hand, the one being the complement of the other. The present-day economic system is such an intricate and complex piece of mechanism that in the act of production for human consumption every little cog therein plays its particular and important part. At first glance it may appear that the Negro is a small and insignificant cog in this great system, but in this well-nigh perfect machine no cog therein is insignificant. He may, however, be inconspicuous and unrecognized, but his value is always present.

Never has the economic importance and worth of the Negro been so emphasized as in the recent and continuous emigration of these people from the South into the North. The howl that has gone up from the South protesting against this wholesale withdrawal of these black laborers, has a different ring to it than the one to which we have grown accustomed. We have always thought the South was anxious to get rid of the Negro, but it now appears that the Negro is of a distinct economic value to the South and his presence is very much desired there. The thousands upon thousands who have left the South, are making a silent but determined protest against lynching, oppression, bias of courts and the other terrorizing evils of the Southland. By this silent but potent revolt against outlawry, which is indeed reminiscent of the cogent effect

wholesale escape from slavery had in putting down that horrible institution, the Negro has again found a way more powerful than red-handed defy.

The salient features back of the basic principles of production are co-operation, co-ordination and correlation, yet in the matter of results and consumption the rule does not hold good. The menials and servants who devote themselves to the task of making home comforts certainly play their part in production, even though to a great degree unrecognized. However, should they suddenly shut down their activities they would put a decided and positive kink in the great system. Unquestionably this is the light which came to Henry Ford when he placed a new and higher value upon the services of elevator men. They help to build the automobile, they are a factor in production, which Mr. Ford both admits and realizes. Rather high ground you may say, but it is a plane upon which the world of the future must take its stand in the matter of economics. The thousands of Negro servants and menials who are giving good, bad and indifferent service, just as other people do, are cogs in the producing machinery of the country. Upon first thought their importance and significance are either ignored or greatly minimized until sober reflection gives them the proper place to which their relative though humble position entitles them. Many occupy such positions because of their peculiar fitness, and sad to say many who are fitted for a higher place are

forced into the ranks of menials because of a bitter race prejudice which denies opportunity, yet the stress of economic pressure upon them must be met; and somehow, made easier. To this number of menials let us add the great army of laborers skilled and unskilled, whose rugged black shoulders are bearing the burdens of toil, out of which a stupendous national wealth has grown. Black artisans are plying their trades here and there, knowledge of which has been gained in ways the description of which would read like romance. But, nevertheless, they are there, contributing their bit to the broad avenues of production creditably, faithfully, yet withal inconspicuously.

When speaking and thinking of production most persons are inclined to neglect the farmer and the vast part he plays therein. The soil is Nature's laboratory, which is the source of all production. There are approximately three millions of Negroes engaged in agriculture, one-third of whom are owners and tenants. In the South, where the majority are engaged, independent owners and tenants produce fifty per cent. of the cotton grown in America. If to this be added the yield of cotton produced by Negro labor, it will be found that Negroes are responsible for nearly the entire output of this one staple alone. In comparison with his per cent. of the entire population of the United States, the Negro produces more than his proportionate share of cotton, corn, potatoes and hay.*

* Negro Year Book—Monroe N. Work.

The Negro farmer of the South, in the aggregate, owns live stock and poultry valued at more than two hundred million dollars, which means the marketing of a tremendous quantity of butter, eggs, meat and provisions. "Black Africa to-day exports annually nearly two hundred million dollars worth of goods, and its economic development has scarcely begun. The Black West Indies export nearly one hundred million dollars worth of goods."† Thus it is seen that anyone who refers to the Negro as a non-producer speaks both hastily and unthinkingly, which assertions if not immediately and determinedly disproven are bound to exert a wrong impression as to the commercial and economic value of the black man.

Many persons when speaking of production are inclined to think of manufacturing only. The basis of such an assumption must at once appear erroneous upon its very face, and is formed only in the minds of the unthinking classes. Manufacturing is the end result of the entire process of production. When one says the Negro is not a manufacturing producer we must agree to the truth of this assertion. It is an unfortunate thing for him from an economic and sociological standpoint that he is not, but the reasons therefor are easily found.

I once heard a prominent Negro barrister deliver an astounding address in which he referred to his race. Of the millions of shoes, hats, wearing apparannually millions of dollars for manufactured

† W. E. B. DuBois —The Negro.

products. He lamented the fact that the Negro demonstrated apparently no conscious concept that here is an economic loss, in a great measure preventable, which if continued unchecked and unbridled must impede concrete advancement of the race. Of the million of shoes, hats, wearing apparel of all kinds, furniture, tools, utensils, etc., etc., purchased by the Negro each year, he manufactures almost no part thereof. It may be further added that in the purchasing of the above mentioned essentials he does not as a rule take advantage of his worth as a consumer to make it earn for him a higher recognition and a greater opportunity for position in the business he helps support. As we have said before such results can be obtained by collective and selective purchasing, backed up by organized purpose to get results therefrom. Better still, consistent and persistent intra-racial trade certainly affords the Negro an opportunity for earning a place in world affairs, and at the same time welds together fellowship, interest and experience into one great unbreakable bond of sympathetic understanding, which shapes self-respect. This is the basis, the one and only basis upon which the Negro manufacturing producer can be established.

Manufacturing requires money, much money, much experience and a market. The Negro has none of these essentials. How then can be become a manufacturer? Racial team work answers all the needs. Single-handed there are but a few Negroes

ness, but by the pooling of many interests, formation of stock companies and other well-known who could enter into a large manufacturing busi- business methods, the money becomes the easiest of the three essentials to acquire.

When considering the matter of experience we are brought face to face with a condition fostered by American prejudice, which with few exceptions has denied Negro men and women opportunity to become acquainted with manufacturing procedure. Who knows but that the day may come when this national short-sightedness may prove a critical and fatal error? If the day should come, and in this great period of unrest we have learned to expect momentous events, who will sigh the deepest at the sight of millions of idle and unskilled black hands willing but unable? American prejudice has consistently forbidden black men and women to occupy positions requiring skill, ability and trust in the great industries, and upon this unreasonable dereliction may come to hang the destiny of the nation. Thus the Negro manufacturer finds himself in a position which makes it imperative that he employ experienced operators and managers from among the members of the white race until the knowledge is acquired by the blacks. Every time a Negro can employ a white man he is exacting more respect from the white race, and incidentally both gain in the transaction.

Unquestionably Negroes should afford the market for the goods manufactured by their race but it would by no means be a safe investment to depend entirely upon them, because race loyalty has not as yet been developed among them to a satisfactory degree. Day by day they are learning the value of racial allegiance more indirectly than otherwise in the school of bitter experience, and a beautiful and lasting devotion is bringing them to consider first, racial interests. With a peculiar lack of initiative the Negro usually waits to become the victim of a condition imposed by a white man before he strikes out for himself and turns more completely to his own. Always to him distress is the mother of opportunity. Some more of the characteristics formed in the mold of slavery which only years of education can obliterate, and that by slow degrees. Out of that chaos have come emotions distraught and entangled which we to-day must endeavor to regulate and systematize into a perfectly adjusted machine that always stabilizes all race interests. When this is done the market of the manufacturer is a fixed and impregnable quantity. But being new in the field, his goods unknown and untried, he must expect new experiences, trials and worries until his worth and the worth of his product are proven. A campaign of educational advertising will create the Negro market, when he realizes that the Negro manufacturer is a boon to his race always in more ways than the white manufacturer. The pos-

sibility of employment, appreciation of patronage and the effect such industries have in creating favorable sentiment for the Negro will finally clinch the loyalty of these consumers.

Necessarily much of such reasoning must be theoretical, for the Negro race has but few large manufacturers, and generally their products have a peculiar and particular appeal to Negroes only, which is hardly a fair test. There is also one large manufacturer who makes especial appeal to his people for business and gets much of it, but the bulk of his supplies go to the white race. This case emphasizes two facts—that the Negro will co-operate if properly approached, and that there is no color line if the manufacturer meets competition and supplies the public needs. But our deductions in the main are made from careful observation of the trials and experiences of small manufacturers who, after discouragements and struggle, have generally succeeded. The commercial spirit of the age has to a degree placed sentiment in the background and the Negro must work in unison for concrete production and not abstract sentiment. He cannot expect much encouragement from the white manufacturer for reasons that are at once obvious, and he must expect to wage a commercial war for the trade of his people, yet his field is a large and fertile one, which, if properly cultivated by distinctive class appeal and advantage, should yield a large and fruitful success. There is every reason to

believe that the business world and the Negro himself will welcome such activity if he shows a fitness and a desire to participate therein, and his productive capabilities are well meant and consistent. The whole history of the development of races shows that the only sound method is not from power without but from power developed within.

Some years ago, in that now famous Atlanta speech, Booker T. Washington said, "No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized." This great American served both his race and his nation well in always striving for the economic advancement and recognition of the Negro. While this statement sounds logically true and theoretically should serve to exact human adjustment of racial and class difficulties, it has not proven actually true. The Negro has contributed to the markets of the world for thousands of years, experiencing the glory of the master, the lash of slavery, and the uncertainty of freedom, still the end sought is not yet. Contribution to the markets of the world cannot alone break down the barriers of ostracism. Contribution must be of the advantageous type, asserting a fixed and determined purpose to emphasize the importance of that contribution, making it an essential for the good and comfort of the world. The modern world never felt Germany's importance in the chemical industries until the great European war broke out, yet that importance was always known. The fifty

per cent. of American cotton grown by Negro farmers, if it had been withheld or withdrawn from the market would very likely have effected the tide of that Titanic struggle. Yet the Negro has never so advantageously marketed his cotton as to impress the importance of his product upon world crises. His force remains unrecognized because unknown and unexploited. This, the Negro producer, must do for himself as a war measure of self-defense in establishing racial integrity. Production alone, without exploitation, leaves little or no impression as to the value of the producer. The Negro can easily afford to be more ethical in such a procedure than the average white producer and still win that recognition for which he is striving and which is justly his. Yet, a man or a race in the most desperate throes of an unequal and unjust struggle for existence has little or no time to consider the ethics or principles involved when the result means win or die. A shameless and unchristian attitude of dominant types makes such philosophy less unholy than it would at first appear.

Avarice, greed for gold and money-lust form almost no part of the traits and characteristics of Negro make-up. The angry, maddening business strife of the world seems not to attract him to attempt the mastery of its treacherous currents and grinding maelstrom. Stolid, patient and stoic he meets the onrushing waves of prejudice, discrimination, humiliation and perfidy, against which he

battles heroically, with a smile upon his lips as unfathomable as the riddle of the Sphinx, yet enduring, struggling and gaining. Sinning, sinned against, impeded by obstacles legal, illegal and inhuman, ostracized, disfranchised, segregated, pitied and hated, he would seem the modern "man of sorrows" were it not for that smile of optimism which lights up his kindly face seamed with the mysteries of ages dim. What a great, deep enigma is this unknowable black whom persecution can but annoy, arrest, but never halt! It seems not to matter how great the stress, how terrible the assault or how bitter the humiliation he somehow shakes loose these fetters of oppression, smiles and takes a tighter grasp upon the essentials of life, gets more out of them than before and lives better. It would seem that the shaping of the destiny of this picturesque and poetic race lies not within the power of earthly hands, so much as in Divinity unconquerable and supreme.

The Negro may never become a great manufacturing producer, he may never startle with crafty manipulations in the stock market, nor will ruthless gold-lust make of him the rabid vampire that sucks the blood of helpless millions that he may have a frenzied and inflated wealth upon which he shall live a life artificial and inane. But it is to be hoped that as time goes on he will develop a higher conscious responsibility to himself and his neighbor by establishing a tighter economic code, repu-

diating the blandishments and effervesence of the idle rich and the ignorant poor, that he shall build for himself a substantial citizenship founded upon honest preservation and unyielding conservation without that maddening, hysterical struggle for selfish, insatiable power in which he shall lose his smile and his soul. This modern stress of business struggle is too agonizing to last. I wonder if the Creator of man intended that such should be the highest aim of His creatures. In the struggle God is forgot, and Christianity must not interfere with this heart-rending, soul-destroying strife for gold and its ill-gotten power to strangle ambition and pride with feline strategy. It may yet come to pass that here the Negro with his great religious fervor and indomitable faith in God, shall make his greatest contribution to a sickened world. With his light-hearted, care-free, sympathetic tenderness of an emotional soul, the Negro may, for all we know, come to be the "rejected stone," the master contribution to the world when stress, turmoil, rivalry and greed have made men weak and inert with madness. "For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his soul?"

CHAPTER IV

The Negro and His Church

There is no way of approach to a true and effective study of the Negro without giving vital consideration to him and his church. Any class of people so closely bound to the church as they are, must be counted as potent contributors to civilization. All the traditions of the Negro people are wrapped up in their church and it is the one great medium through which they love to express themselves because of a certain feeling that here they stand upon sure ground. The church is the one institution which the Negro has developed to a degree of wonderful efficiency in the matter of conspicuous racial improvement. The church is the one institution for which the Negro stands united as a people, giving to it their united, unstinted and loyal support. The success of this great institution among them should serve as an object lesson, teaching the concrete effect of a united people and the accomplishments which can be easily wrought by concerted action. Standing out conspicuously as the greatest development the Negro has made in America,

the church records the economic, moral, social and educational evolution of a race out of darkness. The deep religious fervor of the Negro, his great emotional tendency, and his love of social intercourse are the elements entering into the rapid and permanent development of his church. The great questions which must arise to-day are: Will the church continue to hold its own as the Negro advances in other channels? Is the present-day church rendering its best service to the present-day Negro? Is the Negro church beginning to lose its influence upon the people? In short, is the church gaining or losing ground? How does the Negro church compare with the white's man's church?

The evolution of the Negro church in America has been deviously interesting, comic and tragic. When the first slaves were brought to these shores one of the excuses offered therefor was the Christianization and civilization of the black savage. Therefore, as soon as the savage became converted to the Christian faith he was by law set free. So rapidly did these savages embrace the Christian faith that Christian slaveholders began to realize that through this method they were losing their slaves, consequently they began to withhold the teachings of Christianity from the blacks. To circumvent this loss a number of the states passed laws of evasion which aimed to free Christian consciences without freeing the slave, and finally Vir-

ginia made a bolder stroke than the rest by declaring that adoption of the Christian faith did not "alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." Is this comic or tragic?

Thus it would seem that when law freed the consciences of Christians they began to leave the Christian salvation of the Negro's soul much in his own hands. Among the great hordes of savages brought from Africa were many of the tribal priests who practiced their voodoo or obi worship, weird and fantastic in its expression of sorrow, sadness and sacrifices, suffered in being dragged away from their jungle home with its customs and traditions so dear to the savage heart. These sad rites were emphasized and punctuated with wailing, moaning and groaning, which played upon the childish emotions of the savage, rendering a certain satisfaction to his disheartened soul. Thus these groups, led by voodoo priests, were the beginning of the Negro church in America. Gradually, however, as the years went by, they by association began to take on a veneer of Christianity in its simplest form, with which were always associated certain remnants of the fetish worship of the African Fatherland. By a constant and steady growth Christianity became more and more augmented, understood and revered, in the process of which savage rites were left behind. Even to-day in some of the lowest forms of Negro church worship certain tendencies of barbaric simplicity and

could but cast back our imagination to those days and witness the evidences of deep religious fervor, the prayers for deliverance, the prayers of thanks, and the rejoicing of the rescued, displayed in these Northern churches, it would not be difficult to understand the devotion the Negro of to-day has for his church. With an indomitable faith in God and His promise to answer the prayers of the righteous, Negro slaves had prayed unceasingly for this deliverance, and to them the church was truly the house of God. Thus tradition has handed down to the Negro church a legacy of faithful, Christian souls whose great heart interest is centered in that institution where they have learned to worship the God who heard their prayers in the wilderness, and to-day inspires them in spite of all—to trust in Him and His will.

Viewed from the standpoint of modern times with their many diversions, the stress of living and the various activities of life which seem essential to human progress, the future of the Negro church furnishes an interesting study. Living side by side with the white man, being a part of the same civilization, the black man must perforce catch the spirit of the age to a certain degree. Religion is an element in life without which man can not endure, but he is often inclined to adapt it to his ideas and principles without considering the basic force back of his creed. He is apt always to adjust it so as not to interfere with other activities which he deems just

as essential to his well being. Ofttimes in this adjustment religion suffers, but never so much as man himself, although man does not realize his position until some condition arises which brings the fact home to him. This is the one truth that forever establishes and assures the permanency of religion as a human longing and essential. But nevertheless, the church, surrounded as it is by this modern chaos, finds it rather difficult to assume an attitude or take a stand. Just how the Negro church will be effected under like conditions is our deepest concern.

The history of religious development is always the history of superstition out of which it has grown, and even at this late day it seems a rather difficult matter to separate superstition, faith and religion. As we have already outlined, the evolution of the Negro church reveals a pathetic story of myth, voodooism, oppression and eventually an impregnable faith in God's answer to prayer. Necessarily much of this growth has been made under the guidance of ignorant yet potential leadership, leaving its pathway strewn with ludicrous rites, blunders, fetish worship and hideous customs—but never *doubt* in the power of Divinity to save. Primitive but genuine have been the methods employed to attain a well meant purpose, and in the final analysis it is the results obtained that count. Wonderful progress has been made and a people has been glorified and rendered happy through faith.

In view of these facts it must be hoped that the Negro will never let any other movement supplant the power of the church to wield its influence in forming character and lifting his race higher and higher during its unequal struggle for place. All things considered, it appears that the Negro church will stand amid all the strife of modern thought, heresy and schism as a beacon light steadfast, strong and clear, illumining the pathway of the world's ecclesiastical ship when the billows of destruction roll highest.

Traditional lore is always interesting, but the Negro church cannot rest upon that alone. The people are asking more, they are asking that it supply their needs. Negroes are beginning to ask questions of their church, and there is nothing the church dislikes so much as being questioned, yet there is nothing which can do the church so much good. To-day it becomes difficult to think other than in terms of economics, and necessarily the church cannot escape a certain scrutiny from this standpoint. Approximately one hundred million dollars are invested in church property owned by Negroes. This is a tremendous sum of money and certainly must represent much sacrifice on the part of a relatively poor people. Hence the question arises whether or not the returns in race betterment satisfy an investment so concentrated in one activity.

True, the church as a whole is frequently impractical. Possibly because it deals with religion, it may feel that it has a right to run the full gamut of sentiment, but it seems quite certain that the best religion is that which is the most practical. The delight the Negro experiences in display has been typified in large, costly and ornate church structures, to which they point with pride as evidence of a race's progress. This has caused much comment and criticism, yet they have but followed a fashion set by the whites who evidently have something of the same delight in display, which often runs to riotous and garish manifestations in their churches, many of which are mere sentimental toys, impractical and unsatisfying. There should be no objections to making the house of God externally attractive, in fact we are inclined to believe it should be so, but attractiveness on the *inside*, manifesting itself in the most practical service to God and man must be lifted to its highest power, if the church hopes to maintain and increase its magnetism. This is the crux of the church situation among Negroes, and many thinking members of the race and unthinking ones as well seem to regard themselves as seeing in it a rather selfish and one-sided institution, whose services are too limited and circumscribed by leaders not wholly awake to the broadest racial demands and needs.

It would not be wise to allow this criticism to go unchallenged, even though there may be some ele-

ments of justice therein. Let us analyze the situation. There are some things the Negro church must do for its people that the white church does not need to do. The unique position it holds and the force it wields with the Negro make it an unusually wonderful medium for the transmission of racial influences, expressions, ambitions and needs. Thus far the church has exerted a wonderful power in the development of a people who have constantly and consistently looked up to it for guidance. But unfortunately while the people have progressed rapidly, the church has not done so. Or to put it in milder terms emphasizing the same idea; the people have progressed more rapidly than the church. The church replies that it is a religious organization and stands for conservatism, which is just and proper. Yet when the growth and development of a people, who have been taught to lean and depend absolutely upon the influence and direction of the church are considered, the question of too much conservatism becomes a vital matter, and demands an adjustment to suit the needs of the people. Negro lives have been and are so closely interwoven with the destinies of the church, for which they have exerted a devotional spirit linked with patient sacrifice—that if it be even *suspected* that the church is not in sympathy with their strivings, the shock to both will be serious and effective.

How is the church answering these ambitious strivings of the Negro people? With but very, very

few exceptions, no great race movements for betterment have ever been launched except through the church! Those movements which have had their birth outside have all found it necessary sooner or later to turn to the church for support, otherwise their life became uncertain!

No one knows the truthfulness of these statements better than the church itself. But the conservatism and fine dignity of the church refrain from advertising these facts. Thus conservatism begets a criticism, unjust and unwarranted, from the unknowing. Whereupon many of the critics of the church—most all well meaning—have viewed only the exterior and found little but the ulterior, arriving at opinion through shadow rather than seeking the substance.

"Errors like straws upon the surface flow
He who would search for pearls must dive below."
—Dryden.

Let us not overlook the vast sums of money the Negro church is spending in Africa to carry the light of Christianity to the benighted natives. This the church is doing in spite of political intrigue and interference practiced by white governments, who have been quicker to realize the potency of the possibilities of such a propaganda, than have many Negroes themselves. This stand the church is taking in Africa should not fail to set a great example

to all Negroes, and cause them to awake to the importance of such a movement as a potent factor in determining the ultimate future of the Black Man. Whether it wills it or not, the Negro church is paving the way for the realization and construction of a great Negro Nationality which the future cannot escape, as the great adjuster of conditions heretofore out of harmony with Christianity and Civilization.

In the education of the Negro, the church takes a most conspicuous place—has done and is doing more than any other race organization. Each day finds the church contributing large sums of money for the education of the race, though it is not shouted from the housetops, the results are telling. Some years ago, when the Social Service workers arrived, they thought they had caught the church napping, but the Negro church had to smile as it pointed out that it had been doing the same sort of work since the beginning, for it had so much of it to do, that there was no escape. Possibly it was done under another name, and possibly under no name at all, but it had always responded to the call of the distressed with advice, food, money, attention, prayers and love. A rose may be just as sweet by another name. Unquestionably the Negro church is striving to answer all the needs of the race, but in many ways it is handicapped from lack of funds! Is this startling to the critics? Possibly so, but what the Negro church actually needs to-day is

more money, more money together with the largest, most perfect and most wholesome co-operation each and every member of the race can give to it. Let us have criticism, but let it be friendly and constructive, rather than antagonistic and destructive if we are all to be benefited as a whole.

Many Negro business men who are still pioneers in this branch of racial development, are oft-times heard to express themselves as dissatisfied with the encouragement and support the church gives them. From men representing the various professions, non-church schools and institutions comes the same complaint. There comes from many sources expressions of doubt regarding the saneness of having so much of the Negro's wealth tied up in churches when it might be better invested in business or manufacturing, giving employment to members of the race. Others seem to think that the church controlling, at it does, great numbers, should take advantage of its influence over them and unite them in some business or manufacturing enterprise. Their argument is, that the church is taking from a people rather than adding to its resources. They point out that the church is short-sighted in this matter, for the very opening up of new avenues for better employment of Negroes would mean larger support for the church.

It is now and always has been easy to attack the church. Being a human institution, it cannot be perfect and must have its faults and short-comings.

Our particular and especial attention is, however, directed toward the Negro church, and we must carefully consider whether or not it is failing to satisfy those who lean upon it. Certainly the Negro who is conducting a legitimate and creditable business has a right to expect the support of his people and his church.

Whether he gets it or not depends in a great measure upon his personal attitude and that of the individual minister. There are some ministers who preach and practice a religion which co-operates with all movements that tend toward the betterment of their people. There are others who do not, for possibly purely selfish reasons, the outgrowth of sordid ignorance. Thus it comes about that the church must suffer accusations of racial disloyalty because of the acts of certain ministers thereof. Upon the other hand, there are those persons in business who have neither tact nor ability, who when they find themselves drifting and finally fail, in looking for an alibi, seem to get much satisfaction in hitting upon the church as the cause of all their sorrows and outrageous fortune. Yet there are many, many instances in which it is true that the church does not give as much encouragement as it might and easily could to secular affairs which are contending for racial advancement along various laudable lines. It is possibly unfortunate for both the church and the Negro that his civilization has been so developed as to make it quite neces-

sary that the church must accept such responsibility. But we face a condition and not a theory, which makes the church the dominant factor in any movement requiring touch with, and support from the masses.

Church psychology is ofttimes inexplicable. It takes a just pride in the power of its influence, even brags of it, but quite frequently and unexceptedly seems to hesitate to assert itself fully in certain directions which it cannot help but know, tend toward a full and perfect race growth. Ofttimes even when it does make a show toward giving support to other interests it does it so stingily that the effort on its very face shows an insincerity which is both discouraging and rather unbecoming to its dignity. Quite often a half-hearted effort is worse than no effort at all because it does not give a clean cut recommendation. Certainly no one wishes to deny the church the comfort which comes from exercising its sense of humor, but a juggling with power too often, is liable to become a dangerous practice.

The church is not a business institution and it should not be expected to conduct commercial and manufacturing enterprises, but it can be and is of decided value to the Negro and the nation in the encouragement and support it gives to such movements among a people struggling for a definite recognition. As a matter of fact the church is always glad and anxious to co-operate with all

worthy enterprises if it is approached in the right spirit. In truth, it does so any how, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, yet always manifesting the interest of its great heart in all things good and helpful to its fellowman. When its veil of holy mystery is drawn aside we find in it a love so human and so tender that to refuse human service is with it a thing impossible.

The Negro church is more human than any other and takes just pride in the fact. Its very humanness has often made it a bit too susceptible to flattery, which in many instances has reacted upon it. It is no unusual thing to see those who never think of the church except when they have some propaganda, rush to the church with flattery on their lips, and thereby enlist a certain service ofttimes promised in haste and during an effusion of compliments, which it is actually unprepared and unfitted to render. Thus when the propaganda fails the individual is immediately offended because the church has not made a success of him, and proceeds to enlist himself among the army of its critics. We have always observed that if the cause is a worthy one, the church never refuses to help, even upon occasions when a refusal would be more in keeping with its ability to serve. Upon the other hand, there are many who can trace their success to the church but have since turned away and neglected it except —to damn it.

While the church is not a commercial institution —as a matter of self-preservation it is beginning to develop a veiled and crafty acumen, which if carefully noted reveals a generalship more erudite than it is usually credited with. Conscious of the mistakes of the past in attempting a too diverse cooperation with other external influences, in which the spirit of generosity outran discretion, and too often resulting in unfair criticism, the church today has justly become more wary. Virtually it is saying to-day: "We are specialists, we are teaching religion, we appreciate our grasp upon the people, yet if other worthy interests desire a cliental we shall gladly help you but we cannot afford to assume the vital responsibility of standing as your sponsor." The Negro church points toward the growing failure and disinterest in the white church, which in all too many instances has been subsidized by commercialism, and says it does not intend to make the same mistake. Still, there seems hardly any cause for alarm on the part of the Negro church, for it is dealing with a people who lean upon it for support, service, social communion and encouragement. Yet in its position, the church cannot afford to assume a dictatorship over racial affairs with the least show of arrogance, unhealthy to those vital elements contributing to the growth of the whole. The church here has its one big opportunity to bind itself with bonds of steel to a people generous to a fault, grateful for the least

service, filled with deep religious fervor, loving and unforgetting the traditions out of which their church was born. To them it shall forever remain the most glorious of all institutions, if it but have the vision to respond faithfully, honestly and intelligently to their needs, in making the burden of their struggle a bit easier as they strive for place and recognition.

Concretely, what is the church doing for the Negro? Also, what is the Negro doing for his church? Are all classes of the race co-operating fully with their church? If not, why the apparent misunderstanding?

From the very beginning of the Negro church in America and even unto to-day in certain localities where stress and strain bear heaviest upon the black man, the church has served as an outlet for Negro emotionalism, thus sparing this nation the awful terror of his passion, goaded, incited and born out of an unrighteous and inhuman national oppression cruelly wrought. Thus the Negro church has saved a nation and a race! Even to-day especially since the Negro is becoming more and more educated—and how well we know that culture and education do not still man's passion—were it not for the influence of the church directing the minds and souls of black men toward the gentleness of Christ, all the pent-up fury and passion of the oppressed Negro would burst aflame in our southland, with what end, God only knows.

Such has been and is now the great mission of the Negro church, and we pray that it may grow stronger and better prepared for its task, which our future will surely put severely to the test.

Occasionally it has appeared that misunderstanding existed between the educated Negro and his church, but today a happier condition is resulting, as they are both beginning to realize that one cannot exist without the other. All classes of the race are beginning to realize that they need the church more and more, as it daily proves itself the greatest race organization for service and salvation. The educated Negro needs the church as a medium for expression, the ignorant needs it for consolation; both need it for inspiration and salvation and—the church needs all for support. How potent are the possibilities for the future, when all can be made to positively realize how vitally each needs the other for the salvation and elevation of all. Apparent differences must no longer endure, they cannot endure else we shall all pay the price demanded of inharmonious effectiveness. What we all want and what we all most desire is racial victory, and this can come only when we recognize the value of individual to individual and group to group striving in harmony to support the one great organization which has saved a race and a nation when neither knew how to save itself.

The greatest danger that can possibly come to a whole group is when individual groups and cliques

flatter themselves into believing that the halo of all that is good and righteous sets immediately above their heads alone, and the world gets no expression of right except through them. For too long this has been a barrier to the progress of the Negro, and what he needs to-day, and what the world needs to-day is that these groups meet on a common ground for the absolute and final adjustment of differences certainly more apparent than real, and bury all class feeling deep beyond recovery. That common ground lies nowhere except in the Negro church!

In his church, the Negro is free, for the church is his own. The church affords the only place in which he can now breathe an atmosphere of absolute freedom. Just how much he makes of this opportunity for freedom depends upon the Negro himself. This is his great chance to prove himself to a doubting world, as to his ability to rule and be ruled. The church has served and still serves as the great school of politics, the only one the Negro has been permitted to attend. Politics may be clean and may be unclean, but it is essential to know both in order to build up a clean, healthy race development. Upon politics races and nations are builded up and prepared for offensive and defensive protection against the invasion of their rights. Great leaders of the Negro race have been born out of the church school of politics. Let us have more and more, for the day may be nearer

than we dream, when the Negro shall have new burdens of diplomacy, government and politics shifted upon his shoulders, and let us be prepared to reap the benefits of that training which only the church is giving us.

When a Negro, educated or uneducated, desires a hearing and an audience, he goes to the church. If the cause he wishes to present even appears just, the church says—"speak." To the educated Negro with an ambition to express himself, the publishing houses of the church have been an open-armed savior of his pride, vanity or ambition, which otherwise might have been crushed to the earth. The church has perpetuated the expressions of more Negroes than any other organization. As an employer of Negro men and women, the Negro church is the largest in all the world. How then can the conscientious student say that the church is a one-sided and selfish development? How can he say that the dividends derived in race service are not in keeping with the capital invested in the church? Finally, how can he fail to see that while he remains antagonistic to the church, he is simply "kicking against the pricks," while if the same energy were well spent in a healthy, sane co-operation, both would find life better to live?

Much of the criticism which has been directed against the church has been brought about by the indiscreet acts of many of its ministers who, being unscrupulous, have been a menace thereto. Tainted

men have always been able at some time or another to get into every place except Heaven. They get into the church, but the whole matter rests in the hands of the people, who should find it more helpful for all to dismiss them, than to let their continued presence contaminate the House of God. It is not even well to dignify these craven misfits with intelligent comment. Alike from our minds and our church they should be ostracized and dismissed as unholy and unfit. But let us quickly turn to the other side of the picture, where we find men who are upright and God-fearing Christians, devoting their life to the church and the people, always striving to bring help, encouragement, sympathy and love where it is most needed. These are the men who have touched the hem of the Master's garment and have been made whole. They are reflecting their purity in their daily walks, words and deeds. Truly they are the disciples of the gentle Nazarine, and together let us pray that in their hands shall be placed the shaping of the destiny of the Negro church. These are the men whose hands the people must hold up as they point the way to higher, better earthly things, with the confident belief that in the attaining of such, heavenly blessings must naturally come as a matter of course. By day and by night they labor to lift the church to a higher place for service to God and man, yet meek and modest, always realizing how feebly they are doing His work while the heart sighs for greater

accomplishments. In their hands let us entrust the Negro church, with the hope that it may grow brighter and brighter as a shining star in God's firmament, witnessing to the world, that in spite of bloody wars, strivings for gold, for power, for gain, when men forget love, the Negro and his church stood with God.

This is the day of opportunity for the Negro church. The cleansing and purifying influences which shall grow out of this great world war, for which in no way is the Negro responsible, give to the Negro church its greatest opportunity to express a new thought, preach a new theology and give to the world a higher interpretation of the true meaning of love and Christianity. All during the past the Negro church has followed along the beaten pathway of the white man's creeds, theology and denominations, which to a great degree have proven inadequate to our needs, our hopes, our aspirations. As the Greek has the Greek Church, the Russian the Russian Church, the Jew the Jewish Church let us see born the NEGRO CHURCH OF AMERICA, which shall shape the policy of all black men throughout the world. Radical and startling you will say, but certainly the one and only way to bring about the salvation of a race through the potent forces of solidarity and concentration of policy and thought. The various religious denominations have always been artificial and inane even to the white man, but he has held on to them be-

cause he does not know how to get rid of them gracefully. To the Negro they are artificial, inane, *unsatisfying* and certainly have served ofttimes as a bitter menace to the thing the Negro most needs—racial unity. This is his one chance, his one opportunity to throw off these old and out-worn garments, and push his boat out into the open sea, buoyed up with that union, freedom and independence which shall in turn demand for him a new respect, a new honor and a new joy. The Negro Church of America, bound together with the fetters of love and purpose, would strive for a higher expression of Christianity than the world has hitherto known, at a time when it most needs it. It would breathe a new sense of religious ethics which shall embrace every effort for racial outreaching, growth and fruition of hope.

It never was intended that the Negro church should stand still, but that it should be a thing of life and growth, always striving to encompass all that which makes for the best in its interpretation of the universal brotherhood of man. It shall always strike against every rule or custom which adopts injustice into its creed, struggling and contending to its utmost to enthrone humanity, peace and justice as the actual rulers of the souls and bodies of men.

CHAPTER V

Educational Assets

Education has always served and must continue to serve as the great lever for the uplifting of the individual, the race and the nation to a place of usefulness and value to civilization and advancement of the world. Education prepares and fits men for independent, initiative and conscious thought. Education fits men to live and love, giving to their experiences a wider and more sympathetic scope for usefulness to themselves and their fellowman. So at the present time when we hear so many discussions as to the proper training for young minds of to-day for to-morrow we cannot help but wonder if the objectives of education have been neglected. To obtain the proper results, the individual, except in so far as he touches the group, must be considered of less importance than his capabilities and possibilities for meeting the needs of the world. Set standards and fixed rules soon must become antiquated and inadequate as times change, bringing changes in living conditions and require-

ments. Service, higher service, better service must always be the watchword of the educational process.

Much of the theory and practice in modern methods of education is based upon deductions arrived at through the educational campaign which has been conducted in this country for the Negro. While this is a true condition and statement, its truth requires emphasizing and frequent recital in order to gain for it proper attention and recognition. It is always so easy to lose sight of the laudable affairs of this nation in which the Negro has played an important part, or rather it is difficult to get definite recognition for the many worthy contributions the Negro has made to American civilization. Unquestionably the late Booker T. Washington was one of the greatest educators the world has produced, and in so far as he popularized vocational training, he may well be called the father of this form of education. It was his application of such training to the crude, ignorant and wretched Negroes of the South, flotsam and jetsam of the terrible institution, out of whom he made good citizens, honest toilers and land-owners, that turned the educational tide toward the vocational idea. His experimentation with the raw material proved a truth from which the world of to-day is reaping a great benefit, as a theory was changed into a fact. Thus directly and indirectly the Negro has made a most practical and lasting contribution to the field

of education. In the midst of untiring, ceaseless struggle and sacrifice to educate "the heart and the hand" of a down-trodden people, leading them out of darkness into light this great teacher taught lessons destined to live forever after him, the importance and significance of which the world is recognizing with a faith unimpeachable and justifiable.

The history of the growth and development of education as applied to the Negro reads almost like romance. Within a year after slavery was introduced in America a school was established in Virginia for Indians and Negroes. Almost a hundred years lapsed before another such school was established in New York City, and from that time up until emancipation, institutions for learning were sporadically founded throughout the country, all more or less hampered by conditions which made their existence a difficult and trying matter. Immediately after emancipation education was suggested, recommended and applied as the panacea for all the ills of the Negro. To many the results have been disappointing but always interesting.

The desire to teach the Negro at that time came as a great hysterical wave which swept the country. The North sent teachers into the South, schools were created through the agency of the Freedmen's Bureau, and even many former slaveholders caught the spirit and became teachers and founders of schools. These hysterical movements

seem to be rather indigenous to American soil, and when it is taken into consideration that they are hastily planned it is not to be unexpected that they bring results which are neither lasting nor strikingly effectual. Most of their energy is expended in the beginning, the ending always being gradual but sure. However, much good was done, for a sentiment in favor of Negro education was created, which has grown steadily year by year until to-day it stands upon a rather sure and firm foundation. Those were days when many mistakes were made, most of the penalties for which the Negro pays. Too much was expected from this convulsive attempt to educate a people just out of darkness, and much disappointment was expressed because results did not come at once. The very experience of disappointment is a confession of ignorance as to the proper conception of education as a builder of civilization.

In this discussion we do not wish to have it understood that we are attempting to minimize the great good derived by the Negro through the fine missionary spirit which prompted the bearing of the torch of learning to a benighted people. For there are those to-day who feel that the education of the Negro is a loss of time, money and energy, and in order to approach the question of his educational value to the nation we must study it from all angles. Many of those who regard education as a loss when applied to the Negro seem not quite able

to separate education and literacy. Education is always a purely evolutionary process in which literacy is but a single step, the first step. Therefore it cannot be instantaneous in getting results, but must come with experience gained by contact with the many phases of life. The man is blind who is unable to-day to see the fine results derived from the seed sown in those trying days by hallowed hands. In fact the education of the Negro stands out most prominently as a plainly visible step in the evolutionary process of the world's growth. It is apparent, real and rests in the vision of present day man as a revelation, striking and convincing. Yet in the early days, even though the Negro seized with avidity all the opportunities given him to embrace knowledge, it was the exception rather than the rule that a real, pure education emerged from this chaos. Today is becomes easy to understand the failures and their causes, but in those days when men were impatient and sorely tried it seemed to them a difficult matter to understand why the Negro was not by some sudden and magical process changed over night into a highly educated individual gifted with intellect and experience. To-day we know that experience plays a most vital part in determining and shaping intellect and education. The rule holds good without regard to race and has but few exceptions

In the early days the Negro was taught by the three R's method, in which the heart and the hand

were neglected. He was a child and seized upon learning as any child would grasp at a new toy which offered a new and untried experience. Reading and writing were to him magical processes, giving to those who had acquired these accomplishments a leadership over the less fortunte, which was ignorant and boastful, with the result that the race to-day suffers from these false standards and impressions of yesterday. Yet in the meantime the Negro had been awakened and was making a wonderful progress as a result of stimulation derived from the acquiring of learning. But a new hysteria of another form broke out which expressed itself in the form of lectures delivered by black and white all over the country, telling of the wonderful advancement the race had made in education, property ownership and social and political position. This was unfortunate at this time, for the Negro got a false and wrong value of himself which resulted in apathy on his part and disgust on the part of his white FRIENDS who were urging for him a steady, sure development along sane and consistent lines. Flattery is always dangerous to a child. With only a most superficial knowledge of life and its affairs the Negro naturally became a boastful and presumptuous braggart who created a disgust which it will take many years to efface. As a consequence of those days which gave birth to many false standards, the curse of the Negro to-day is the ignorant power of ignorant leadership

under which the masses never seem to get the proper concept of the best in the race, its possibilities, its potentiality, its value to American civilization. It is against this curse that the Negro must become educated, as a solution to the many difficulties which hamper his progress.

It is both interesting and encouraging to note that to-day the Negro is taking a new and different view of education and its practical worth. With this new view come new ideas of leadership, intelligent, faithful leadership inspired by the pleasure of duty to a people who need proper guidance. With duty comes truth, which must be driven home to the hearts and minds of a too long neglected people who have been kept blindly satisfied with half truths. At first the process may appear cruel and discouraging but man never awakes to his full possibilities until attack causes him to realize the weakness of a defense he had been led to believe was adequate. When education has made the Negro realize that false standards and unrighteous leadership have held him too long in the rear of progress he will awake and become a great united people, conscious of a power hitherto undreamed of. There are whites who fear the awakening of this great black giant, and with a craven sense of undue alarm, satisfy themselves that they are adroitly delaying the day by attempting to create dissatisfaction among Negroes regarding the teachings of their fearless leaders. This, however, can-

not endure, and but tends to emphasize the weakness of weak and incapable whites. Alarm upon their part is unecessary and unpatriotic, absurd and inane. Their fear is not of sufficient calibre, dignity or worth to be of even the slightest compliment to the Negro whom education is making more a man and at the same time more a Negro.

With the Negro the desire for education is no mere fanciful hysteria, but the expression of a determination to earn a place in a world that demands intelligence. This truth was emphasized during the historic days of black legislators in the South who among other acts righteous and unrighteous, established a system of free schools for their people who thirsted after knowledge. To-day the Negro is learning to capitalize his education, for he most thoroughly recognizes the value thereof. He fully understands it to be an asset from which he cannot be separated, establishing an assured preparedness for his future. The many stories of sacrifices, hardships, privations and difficulties endured by Negro boys and girls, their mothers and their fathers, to get an education are sufficient proof of the determination of this race to throw off the shackles of ignorance. Upon the other hand there are many who are beset with discouragements, inabilities and unwillingness to sacrifice because they have not yet been made to realize the advantages of education as an agency for bettering their condition. In many such instances one cannot honestly

attach much blame to those who are often inclined to give up early in the struggle. The predominance of racial prejudice in America is the one great discouraging factor which thwarts the ambition of many a black who with a man's education and a man's chance of applying the same would add materially to American citizenship. When a young Negro, deep in the throes of sacrifice, on one hand, observes another well educated and well-equipped Negro running an elevator, acting as a porter or waiterman because there is no other opening for him, and on the other, notes the sacrifices his parents are making to keep him in school, he is apt to wonder if education pays. Here is the well defined duty of Negro leaders. To carry conviction home to the hearts of these young people, that their education may not realize the sort of dividends they desire to-day, but to-morrow it may be an asset of great advantage, and that it is the to-morrow for which the Negro youth must be prepared.

Quite naturally the question arises here as to what sort of education is best for the Negro. This we might as well answer at once and show cause therefor later. The sort of education that is best for the whites is best for Negroes. Living so closely in touch with each other and striving for the same things, for the good of the same nation, a biracial education must to the practical thinking people seem immediately absurd and unnecessary as

well as un-American. When industrial education was advised for the Negro the white man immediately agreed that such was best for him, for it seemed the best way to keep him reduced to a servile class. However, to-day conditions have changed and all men have a different conception as to the practicality of industrial education. They are realizing that this form of education is an asset to whites as well as blacks and that efficiency is the result rather than servility. Thus in this instance it is pretty generally accepted that what was advocated as good for Negroes became good for whites. The matter of classical education has long been a bone of contention between factions, both black and white, first in reference to its application to Negroes, but to-day there is quite a bit of warring as to its value to whites. Thus it becomes apparent that any attempt to establish in America a bi-racial form of education eventually creates a new ground of admitted coalescence in educational thought and methods. Both forms of education are essential to both races so long as neither is carried to extremes. America must have workers and it must have teachers and other professional classes, all of whom are essential to the make-up of an evenly balanced nation. The fitness, aptitude, opportunity and privilege of the individual must be considered rather than the race. Classical education shall always serve as a great mental gymnasium which fits the mind for the highest efficiency, whatever the voca-

tion of the individual may be. It is a mental preparedness, the value of which increases with experience and demand.

Just as soon as one pins his faith in the hope that education for the Negro will do much to change the American attitude toward him, he realizes that the consciences of whites need to be educated. Education alone can free the bonds of the nightmare of social equality from the shuddering souls of spineless white men. The touch of culture with culture will ease the mental attitude of both Negroes and whites, in which they can learn the best of each other, the worst they both already know. The lowest types of blacks are in close touch with lowest types of whites, but seldom do best types of black come in touch with best of whites. The classes of both races who should come in closer contact for mutual and national good do not often do so. Instead they regard each other with suspicion, the Negro regarding the white as his enemy and the white regards the educated black man as dangerous, insolent and a seeker of social equality. There was a time when the Negro learned all from the white man, but to-day the Negro is by education getting into a position where he imparts much to the willing and open-minded white man. Thus the two races can be mutually helpful to each other, and by effecting a harmonious understanding of race values can jointly be of a decided benefit to

this nation. There are still some white men who feel that even with the development of high culture, refinement and education, the Negro cannot be accepted, and that the strife between the races will be intensified rather than made easier. They further profess to claim that the Negro's contact with the civil and political life of the white man cannot be without the social touch which is always undesirable and hateful to think of. The educated Negro has not this class to worry over, for they are in the minority and lack aggressive courage. To the educated and patriotic whites this class is always a menace to the spirit of American democracy.

Not until education seeps down to the masses, black and white, will there be a positive change in the attitude of the races toward each other. Nor will there be a conspicuous show of advancement and a conscious adoption of custom which does not insult the dictates of American civilization. With true education comes an accepted and consciously acknowledged responsibility which the individual owes to his race and his nation, always teaching men to be tolerant, and developing a sense of duty to their ignorant and misguided fellowman without regard to his race. The Negro must see to it himself that his education is such that there can never be any notion, even in the minds of his most rabid haters, that it is a failure when aplied to him. To be of value to himself and his nation the Negro's

education must make him self-assertive yet not self-satisfied, for he must defend himself, but at the same time it is essential that he consider the standpoint of others. He can learn the power of association without getting presumptuous or invading the sacred ground of the white man's imaginary and arbitrary kingdom of "Social Equality."

In the North the white man is indifferently insincere as to the value of the educated Negro, yet mildly tolerant, and inclined to sympathize with the efforts made for a greater out-reaching of the race. The attitude of the Southern white man toward Negro education places him between two fires of craven uncertainty and certain doubt as to which will consume him, as the evil spirit of slavery haunts his conscience every hour by day and by night. He recognizes the educated Negro as an asset to the South but fears his aggressiveness and unrest under the galling fetters of the Southern sense of justice toward black men. In the great mass of ignorant and irresponsible blacks he beholds even a greater menace, so with fear and trembling he is endeavoring in a way pitiful and grudging to convert himself to the side of education. Yet in the face of doubt, fear and indifference the Negro is getting an education which tends to equalize the status of men, all men, although ofttimes it brings to him ambition without satisfac-

tion and the consciousness of opportunity too often unrealized. However, it is significant that education is teaching him to want things, better things; as life goes on.

The greatest and highest hope of the Negro must be to develop an education of self-expression and self-respect as he strives for an intelligent application of freedom, which radiates into every possible avenue of resourcefulness, efficiency, force and faith. His experience must be broadened by contact, which is the most excellent of all schools for disseminating the thoughts and sympathies of the many, always recognizing the power of education and culture to make the Negro race more attractive to his brother in white, and to—himself.

The Negro wants an education which shall set his soul free and liberate the unfathomable mysteries of his ancient race as the revelation of ideals higher, sweeter, purer than the loftiest conception of modern thinkers, saints, skeptics and doubters. The great unsolved arcana of ancient African culture shall yet assert itself through education of the Negro in America. The dim shadows of the past shall be lifted to reveal a racial integrity the sincerity and worth of which no man can question, as the Negro develops a distinctive cultured class purely racial in all its aspects. The Negro has just begun to sip at the fount of education, of his possibilities, his potentialty we can but dream and conjecture. To the people of the Occident the culture

of the Orient has remained a closed book, which may for all we know be awaiting the esoteric touch of the mystic black to reveal the lore of the ancients. The dehumanizing retardation of slavery and the dark ages just preceding must be regarded as only an incident in the history of a race so ancient in cultural creeds. It was just a closing of the eyes in sleep. Then comes the awakening to the clarion note of freedom's call revealing the possibilities of education as a link which shall bind the new wisdom with the ancient Coptic culture of the dim but unforgetable past. This fusion of thought is destined to give the world, through the Negro, a learning which makes men efficient but considerate, forceful but gentle, triumphant but unselfish. Out of this new thought shall blossom forth a culture in which Christian tolerance, altruism and love shall direct the forces and concepts of man, breathing the breath of a new learning as greed, avarice and hate give way to the will of God.

CHAPTER VI

Race Consciousness

The forces which are at work striving for the reclamation of the Negro are becoming more patient as they realize the great task before them. They are beginning to see that the following of a single line of endeavor does not reach the goal, in a process which is so intricate and hard pressed upon all sides by misunderstanding, malicious and otherwise. The rebuilding of a race affords an intensely interesting study and some wonderfully trying experiences, which may be likened to a war game wherein every angle is a strategic point to be regarded as highly important to the success of the campaign. In every army the general knows that they must be on their guard for the treacherous enemy within as well as the known enemy without. But in order to make an effective fight, win victories, even though the process be humiliating and embarrasing, they know that their ranks must be purged by the cleansing fires of truthful exposure. Disloyalty will play havoc in an army of soldiers unless the searchlight of discovery re-

veals the traitors. Disloyalty will, with equal ease, destroy the character of a race unless it is eradicated or disciplined by justifiable exposure of traits which foster such perfidy. It sometimes takes courage to tell the truth, but struggles are never won without valor.

Slavery killed almost every vestige of race consciousness. Education alone can restore it, make it more intensive and further reaching than any other single element which influences the advancement of the race. The individual of the race without self-esteem gets nowhere. Self-discovery is a tonic upon which individuals and races are reared to a full growth that is worth while. During the entire sojourn of the Negro in America he has been taught to disparage black and exalt white. So fixed have become these evil lessons in his mind that he has not been able to realize that slowly but surely he was committing racial suicide. This, however, cannot long endure for it is founded upon a wrong principle of racial ethics and racial evolution. Men cannot be made to forever despise themselves. The awakening is bound to come and with it may come regrets of a various nature to those who have led and to those who have blindly followed. Despair is a two-edged sword, destined to wound those who have suffered from it and those who have maliciously inspired it for purpose low, mean and ulterior. Despair kills hope, opportunity and

possibilities and some one must pay. The law of compensation never fails.

There is no need for the Negro to idealize the white man, for that individual has attended to the matter himself rather completely and selfishly. The Negro cannot expect to ever see his race idealized by anyone until he first does it himself—for himself. The desire for self-expression and self-exaltation comes with the development of education to a highly practical degree, and serves as a test as to whether education is really and truly taking root. If education fails to develop a fine sense of race consciousness in the Negro, either education for him is a failure or his conception and application of intellect are erroneous and ill founded. Some years ago a sorid lack of race consciousness on the part of the recently emancipated black might not have caused such anxiety. But to-day we who are interested in seeing a self-assertion and self-development of all that is best in the Negro, cannot help but be a bit alarmed at some of the manifest evidences of apparent indifference in accepting and standardizing black, ofttimes with the hope of escape beyond the pale of the color line. The unusual Negro, or even the one who regards himself as unusual, whether he desires or not must always be a Negro, but he makes a better Negro, a better man and a better citizen if he accepts his race not as a fate but as a privilege. Let him learn to feel and

know that, that privilege gives him an opportunity to be a builder of sentiment in favor of himself and his race because of the assertion of the power of an unusual ability.

The great masses of the Negro race are without a fixed desire and purpose, and apparently have no wish to add the power of their might to the struggle for world position. This is due to ignorance which never knew the value of a race consciousness. Many whites are interested in keeping this condition continuous and perpetual, for by so doing they continue a mastery and leadership which is about as insiduous as it is effective. The great ignorance is regarded as a duty they owe to their gro leaders have to bear as they toil up the hill of progress. But to the majority of these leaders the task of extricating the weaker members of their race from the tenacles of suspicion, imposition and ignorance is regarded as a duty they owe to their fellow blacks and a responsibility they owe to their nation. There are, on the other hand, certain Negroes of intelligence whose education has been warped by a snobbish sense of racial disloyalty who attempt to escape this duty and responsibility. Ostrich-like, they bury their heads in the white sands of subserviency, for a time satisfied with an escape, blindly imaginative, which in the end leads but to inevitable disappointment, dishonor and exile. Such persons are guilty of racial high treason and add to the weight of the burden borne by

conscientious, honest leaders. They are of no service to whites or blacks except to be designated as an object lesson of a horrible example. It is rather interesting and significant to note the most of these racial traitors are usually the first generation in education. They are flattered, shocked and surprised with the joy of the first blush of an education unseasoned with intelligent experience and conceived in unrighteous haste. Cajoled and wheedled by an exaggerated ego and inflated with braggadocio, misconceptions regarding their race run riot in their infantile minds, revealing the fact that to them a little knowledge has become a dangerous thing. But as a contrast to the fine leaders who are living, sacrificing and dying for the best out-reaching and elevation of their people, they are a remarkable product to inspire a pity of disdain and demonstrate the value of a true racial consciousness.

It is easy enough to account for this manifest lack of self-regard and self-confidence on the part of the Negro masses who have no education, and those sporadic cases who, though having scholastic training, show a displeasure toward racial endeavors. In both instances the impressions left by the iron rule of slavery tend to linger with a tenacity which can only be broken by time and patience. In the case of those who, because of educational advantages, lead us to expect a different attitude from them; if their lives are investigated, we

generally find that they are disappointed failures. But above all the one significant and essential thing is to recognize that this condition of race disloyalty, lack of love, pride and consciousness does exist within the Negro race and is a veritable canker gnawing at the vitals of progress. The recognition and admission of this condition is the first step in the process of applying an effective remedy.

There can be no intense race consciousness which does not have for its basic principles the element of race love and a devout altruism developed within. The Negro is in the throes of a mighty struggle against odds which at times seem almost overwhelming. In order to carry it to a successful and happy issue the value of love must come to him as an inspiration for the highest possible realization of racial patriotism. This cannot be pursued in any half-hearted or apologetic way. The whole heart of the individual, every individual of the race must be consecrated to the love of service and the service of love always glorifying racial worth with an ever-increasing faith therein. Faith breeds strength and unity. Strength and unity are unconquerable.

How can these high ideals effecting race con sciousness be developed? By education we answer. True we have said that in some instances education has served to make certain Negroes discontented with their race, developing within them a disloyalty which has fostered bitter criticism and a desire to escape a condition they regard as a fate. There

is no fault with education, per se; but the kind of education is to blame, especially when received by immature minds. We again say the Negro needs the same sort of education the white man needs, but he needs a supplementary training which emphasizes the value and worth of the contributions his race has made in developing a world civilization. The education given to American Negro boys and girls always glorifies white and disparages black. Nothing else is to be expected when it is taken into consideration that the white man fashions and shapes the curricula of American education. Yet Negro educators and leaders need not be deterred by this mere incident, for they have it in their power to deflect enough from the standardized forms to express and teach through their schools and colleges a just and true account of the history and achievements of their race. The hope of evolving a distinctive racial culture which will in turn give birth to a fine sense of race consciousness, lies in the education of the young by educators who experience and express an exalted perception of racial patriotism. Most young Negroes leave school and college believing that their people have no history except that which began with American slavery, and that leaves with them such a picture of horrors that they hope and even seek to forget a past which reduced their forbears to dumb driven cattle.

But this horrible picture is only a small part of Negro history, and every Negro teacher should know and with a supreme patriotic pleasure feel the urge to teach the true history of ancient Africa and the part black men have played in giving culture and civilization to our world. Every Negro school should have a supplementary graded course for carrying this message of hope to the minds of black boys and girls. Every Negro college should have a chair devoted to the history of black men. It is satisfying to record that within the last few years some few attempts are being made along this line. The future attitude of the Negro to himself and his race, as well as the attitude of the white man to the black man, depends in great measure as to how far the teaching of racial patriotism reaches.

As yet the real and complete history of the Negro has never been written, and never will be unless written by the Negro himself. Within the last few years many interesting archaeological discoveries have been made in Africa, which fix beyond all question of doubt the antiquity of the black man and his unquestioned leadership in ancient culture. Racial prejudice chokes the interest of white scientists in these discoveries, for their personal feelings dominate their scientific conclusions. Here is a most interesting field of research for Negro scientists, and Negro colleges should feel it a duty they owe to their race and the world to direct and finance such an expedition. The results will be of

countless value to the Negro forever fixing his status among the races of the world. The Negro should be more interested in an exhaustive and comprehensive study of ethnology than any other race in the world, for he has more to prove and more to discover. The schools and colleges can sow the seed for the desire to make such a study by directing the minds of black students in the proper channels. This spirit of racial interest can be created by the collecting and reading of the many books written, dealing with the various phases of our race questions. Recently, cultural and philosophic treatises by ancient Negroes have been unearthed, which reveal a wealth of matter important to us in satisfying the world that the Negro has a history more ancient than the white man, combined with a culture which at one time led the world's thought. These are all avenues into which the Negro schools and colleges must direct their courses, always with the hope that out of the many students a few will be developed who will devote a life-time exploring the past of this ancient black people. Also, a scientific study of race differences must some day come. The Negro must be particularly and especially interested in this study, for he alone remains the most unfathomable and incomprehensible mystery of all the races, alike to himself and others. But the field is his and this work and the conclusions derived therefrom must and will be the work of Negro scientists.

At first glance the casual observer is liable to remark that these expressions deal with fantastic and rather idealistic notions. But such is not the case, for individual Negroes are thinking along these lines, groups of Negroes are thinking, and when shortly we shall have a whole race thinking, the way to an effective consciousness within becomes clear.

But of what concrete value to the Negro will be the unfolding of a race consciousness? Will it not cause an arrogant and boastful inflation which will satisfy rather than stimulate? Let us see. The failures and short comings of the Negro have been so long emphasized and made prominent by the white man that the Negro himself is ofttimes, too often inclined to really believe he is really a failure. Thus in many instances he makes no effort to disprove the accusation by an expression or act typical of racial loyalty. It is no unusual thing to hear Negroes openly attack their own business and professional classes as unworthy of their patronage because of an imaginary, ignorant and unrighteously disloyal lack of faith in their abilities. They cite various failures, improvident and indiscreet acts, as their reason for witdrawing or withholding their patronage, which they make to serve as an excuse to carry their business to whites, seeming apparently to forget or ignore the fact that whites also fail, are improvident and indiscreet in their dealings. This is about the same attitude taken by the

whites in regard to Negroes, but for the Negro to take the same stand against his own people is little less than criminal. Negroes are so often heard to say, "I don't believe in and don't patronize Negro Doctors, Lawyers, Banks, Stores and Hospitals." Let us ask these disloyal Negroes if they ever heard a white man display such a lack of confidence in his own people. Certainly they have not. But on the other hand these same Negroes go on meekly and contentedly patronizing Negro Barbers, Hotels, Cafes, Churches and Fraternal Organizations. Why? Simply because the color line has been drawn against them in these activities.

Now this is a terrible reflection upon a class of people so bereft of the essentials of racial loyalty and manhood that they can see no good, and experience no love for their own people until the white man's color line embarrasses them and forces them to throw the burden of their might within their own race. This is, however, the worst side of the picture, for quite fortunately this class of Negroes is gradually disappearing as an education of race values and a race consciousness is seeping down into brains heretofore made lethargic by the venom of the white man's hypnotic and wily intrigue. Let us, however, be fair to the white man, for they have their good and bad classes just as Negroes do. There are many of them who are anxious to see the Negro develop a racial integrity

that is fixed and firm, being always willing and anxious to contribute their wealth and influence to help bring this to pass. But it is the designing white man, of whom the Negro has been too long a pawn and tool, always fashioned and directed toward the counterfeiting and depreciation of his race values.

Now is the time for the Negro to completely divest himself of this curse imposed upon him in days when he was helpless and ignorant. Every day finds stronger and better leaders springing up among these people, who are willing and capable to direct them in the avenues of a self-preservation which can only come from a high and definite sense of racial confidence. In this process of rediscovery of themselves and their people these wise and potent leaders are learning the value of a closer touch with the ignorant and untutored masses, out of which must spring a more satisfying racial democracy and an altruistic consciousness imbued with the sympathetic contact of a genuine and specific racial brotherhood. By this common touch of heart interest and love, both leaders and masses are relieved by a kindlier and closer knowledge of each other, which in turn begets a greater confidence and a higher service to each by the other. As misunderstandings and misgivings pass away, sage, saint and peasant will alike be thrilled by the urge of kindred blood, fusing the hearts of the Negro

people throughout the world into a united whole for a God-like purpose. Out of this conscious, patriotic love shall evolve the many advantages of a closer-knit economic system founded on that faith and confidence which Negroes shall learn to have in each other, instituting and perfecting a common interest, a common welfare and a common preservation.

CHAPTER VII

Race Consciousness (Continued) With Social Variations

We have said before that the Negro is thinking—thinking as individuals and as groups. In fact, they are thinking much more than they are saying.. This spirit of "Free-Masonry" of race is the most propitious sign of all, pointing to a healthy development of race consciousness. It is but natural that as the white man observes the Negro thinking, he too, begins to think, and wonder what the Negro is thinking about. The whites are variously classified relative to their attitude toward the Negro. There are those who are opposed to him, and those who are indifferent because they know nothing of him but hearsay. There are those who think they know him, which class is again sub-divided into those who are friendly and those unfriendly. Another class usually friendly represents those who want to know him. It is not difficult to fix the status of that other class who do not know him, and do not want to know him. Thus by turning back and taking an inventory we note that opposition with indifference

mostly through ignorance is the general trend of the white man's attitude toward the Negro. Oft-times those who profess and want to know the Negro are inclined to form hasty conclusions either after the most casual or no consultation at all with Negro leaders. Thus the white race, as a rule, is not prepared to receive the confidences of the Negroes who are thinking, not because they are unworthy but because generally speaking they are unsympathetic, unwilling and unprepared to render the service most needed—altruism.

Thus we are inclined to believe that there is a greater, healthier, and more lasting salvation for the Negro to be derived from intra-racial love than from inter-racial love. It is better for the Negro and will serve to lessen the intensity of the white man's opposition at least for a time sufficient for for him to realize that his fears for his social idols and ideals are groundless. By this adjustment the Negro has something definite and possible to hope and strive for which is worth while to himself as well as palliative to the white man. The Negro cannot and must not expect to assimilate with the whites in America. The line of cleavage must remain The integrity of the race depends upon this. They must form a national group within by developing a high degree of racial loyalty which always strives to keep their race intact. There is no objection to separation but it must never mean subordination. Back of the entire cataclysm of racial differences

and misunderstandings is a condition fostered by a prejudice more psychological than physical which has consistently and persistently denied Negroes equal economic opportunities. It is not the desire for social opportunities which the Negro has been denied, so much as the desire for economic opportunities also denied him, which has caused the impatient Negro to regard his race a misfit. The thousands upon thousands of Negroes who have crossed the border of the color line to find better economic fields must afford an interesting study to the white race, with whom they have intermarried and associated. The white man has forced this condition, thereby defeating his own purpose. This is a sad and unfortunate predicament undesirable to both races, and a sensible human adjustment must come if the racial integrity of each is to be preserved. The Negro has neither the desire, nor can he afford to acquiesce in the matter of desertion from his ranks. There is every reason to believe the white man of America does not welcome the ingression of black blood! For the present the Negro need not concern himself about social equality which may in time prove purely a relative term. Styles change rapidly and after the Negro has developed his own culture, the world may find him the most desirable and in a position to dictate the whole matter of social equality.

A race stripped of its pristine glories and stupefied by a sleep of centuries, just emerging out of

slavery cannot be expected to blossom forth in beauty and holiness. But the sporadic development of individuals and groups, associated with a general race tendency to seek the light of intelligent freedom certainly clears the pathway and makes progress easier and more convincing. Even though there still lingers a marked inclination to reverence white instead of black at the expense of a consciousness, the condition must not be regarded as unnatural, though apparently abnormal. The position taken by the Negro toward the white man is about the same as that of the Unites States toward England, her former master. There is a sort of reflex unconscious obedience and obeisance which cannot be easily thrown off until a real sense of personal security, confidence and worth, aside from self-flattery arrives, and the last vestige of the serf-like spirit passes away. There are very few Negroes, after a relatively close social touch with whites, who have the stamina to emerge therefrom a more loyal Negro. Likewise there are relatively few Americans who, after most wonderful maneuvering, gain a slight touch with English aristocracy, return to America *obsessed* with the idea that they are better Americans. This whole condition seems on its face abnormal but it is natural. We each seem charmed by the inexplicable magic of "his master's voice."

To some it may appear that these observations and the conclusions derived there from argue that

extraneous contact is dangerous to loyalty. Such, however, is not our intention, for we believe that such association should be helpful if approached in the proper spirit, safe-guarded with a high and definite purpose to gain the essentials of masterful tendencies without sacrificing pride upon the altar of snobbishness. If the Negro and Americans, respectively, show a disposition to permit a raid upon their self-esteem by the subtle flattery of an association so overwhelming, I suppose we must attribute it to the youth of both. Certainly there are many Negroes and Americans who will strenuously deny these accusations, and there are some who are justified in making such denial. But for the sake of results it ofttimes becomes necessary to expose certain racial and national tendencies with the hope of creating a discomfiture which will in turn suggest a higher duty to race and state.

Into each life must come the social phase, which is just as necessary and essential as the economic and spiritual; in fact, they are interdependent. Social contact should be both educative and protective in its results. The Negro needs and should strive for a closer association with the whites, not with the hope of experiencing "social equality" so much as with the desire to effect a social understanding. This association is particularly necessary in the matter of state and civic affairs in which race differences should be dropped long enough to rally to the support of the one supreme virtue cer-

tainly more important than petty quibbling—the Spirit of America! The destines of the two races are so closely interwoven in America that they must together effect an understanding for the preservation of each, and our nation, without the sacrifice of pride, loyalty or patriotism. The more such association can be effected for the interchange of views and ideas, the higher will reach the purpose and intent of both toward the goal of a democracy which satisfies and serves the best interests of each. It is only the artificial which flatters. It is only the genuine which stimulates and saves. Let the Negro once get a true concept of race values through the medium of honest contact, founded upon reason and justice, and I am quite certain he will never emerge therefrom less a Negro.

In America, Negroes and whites are slaves to a custom which is keeping the races apart, with the consequent misunderstandings that naturally arise from a casual and brief contact. The white man has so vehemently and persistently asserted his superiority that the Negro has accepted his position as one of inferiority. Thus we have a psychological difference rather than a social one. If men are really superior and certain of their ground, they have no fear that a people really inferior shall ever encroach upon the sanctity of their social bulwarks. If men are really superior they must feel it both a human and Christian duty to render unto the

really inferior a social justice, an economic justice unseasoned with lethal hate and prejudice. If men are really superior it never becomes necessary to cry it from the house-tops; their lives, their actions and their deeds create an attitude which fixes their status. But if after all it is only a maddening psychological hysteria founded on the stuff of which dreams and nightmares are made, then to Negroes and whites alike the terms "superiority" and "inferiority" are meaningless and ephemeral. Thus there is no need for the Negro to feel flattered by any degree of social contact with whites so long as their attiude is so unfixed and indefinite. The mere abritrary treatment of a people as inferiors or superiors does not make them such when custom alone dictates the matter. There must be something higher, more exalted, more righteous. The sum of all the superior qualifications, which does not include superior consideration and tolerance toward a weaker people, goes for naught in the final analysis. False standards cannot survive but for a short time. We expect to see a King walk like a King, talk like a King, and act like a King.

As the world goes on a new sense of democracy is asserting itself which emphasizes the value of the *average* man, rather than the exceptional and self-styled superior. Negroes are slowly but steadily building up a race of average men and women who shall dispute every inch of the way toward a happily adjusted democracy. Unless the so-called

exceptional man can carry hope and encouragement to the average man, he is not truly an exceptional man but rather the victim of exceptional advantages. We pin our faith to the average man. Some day the average white man is going to realize that his hope for the future depends upon his ability to concentrate and organize the forces of all average men, including the Negro. This is the outlook for the establishment of the new democracy which must include within its embrace the Negro, else it fails. The oppressed of all races have a common cause which must have a common adjustment and satisfaction. The average white man, much like the Negro, has been long in discovering his value to a vast heartless economic system, to the construction of which he has contributed, blindly ignorant of its threatening power to crush him. In the meantime there has arisen the horrible and sickening menace of a self-styled superiority reeking with snobbishness, intolerance and inconsideration for the average man who has made his existence possible. But the day of reckoning is near and the Negro is preparing to play his part.

Even within the Negro race itself there has been developed an exceptional class, many of whom show all the elements of superiority except their disinterest in and disloyalty to the weaker members and masses of their race. Among this class are those who have acquired wealth, position and education and comparatively speaking occupy the same

status as whites of the same type. Those who have attained success through Negroes are *usually* intensely loyal to their race. But *ofttimes* those whose affluence is traceable to whites seem to feel a superiority which makes them unsympathetic toward their own. Yet, there is no fixed rule which can be applied to either class. But the main thing, the important thing we mean to emphasize is the tendency of the exceptional Negro to forget or overlook his duty to the masses of his race. The most abominable and disquieting trait peculiar to the Negro is the habitual aptitude with which he cites the failures and misgivings of his own, showing a manifest lack of faith in the integrity of his race, ofttimes more imaginary than real in its intent. The fault-finding Negro whose complaint is especially directed against his own is a menace far reaching in its effect; for it grows to be a habit and custom inconsistent with that deep racial sympathy which always exists even in the minds of the most rabid. This trait is a relic of other days when Negroes found it a good policy to agree with the whites in the condemnation of their race, even though their bounded souls dictated otherwise. However, we must be charitable with this class for they have been and are still misguided. While many of them are educated in the generally accepted sense of the term, they have not yet been brought to the point of appreciating the *application* of intra-racial sympathy, duty and love. To a people who have always

seen and heard their race held up to scorn and ridicule, symbolic of all that is low, ignorant and hopeless, it takes more than mere education to dispel the gloom and ignominy of such fixed traditions and impressions. One can hear a lie about himself repeated so often, that even despite the fact he knows it to be a lie, he begins to get suspicious and wonders if there is not some element of truth in it. Such is about the position in which the Negro without expressed or experienced love for his race finds himself, ofttimes to his own deep sorrow and humiliation. But there is hope for him if he can be made to catch the proper conception of the value of an intensive race consciousness. Happily this class is on the wane, as a greater democracy of race is asserting itself. The Negro must have an education with defensive and aggressive tendencies to ward off attacks, slanders and assaults. Then as victory upon victory comes, he consciously or unconsciously finds himself in love with that cause for which he has fought and won.

The task of remaking a race is always an evolutionary, hence slow and rather discouraging process during certain and uncertain stages thereof. The great hindering cause with the Negro is the difficulty experienced in making him realize that he must depend upon forces within his race rather than forces without. Outside forces can and must help for the good of all, but the main strength must come from within. Race unity alone can bring

racial strength. There can never be a united purpose without an unyielding love and devotion always directed toward a perfect and generous understanding of race values. The various classes and elements of the Negro race must learn to know more of each other, which knowledge should be seasoned with a genuine sympathy and heart interest as each realizes that their struggles are for their race the same, though unlike in kind. With this idea always kept bright before us, successful results will come sooner and easier. The day of the average man is approaching closer and closer, and with that day is coming a newer and finer sense of a practical democracy which shall forever sweep aside the lash of the oppressor. The hope for the Negro lies in his sturdy development of a racial democracy defensive and aggressive in tendency, which shall establish for themselves a place in that new order of things, founded upon the demands of the average man for a justice that is supreme and impregnable.

The matter of the evolution of a race consciousness must be viewed from both a psychological and sociological angle. In some way, some day ever Negro will be made to feel that his every individual act, whether good or bad, is both retroactive and reflective upon his whole race. Up to the present time the ethical standards which the whites have set for the Negro are not very broad or liberal, certainly not so flexible as those they have set for

themselves. But be that as it may, the one thing from which the Negro most suffers at the hands of his white brothers is the lack of a proper classification of his good and evil deeds distributed among the differential groups of the race. The Negro is always judged in the aggregate to be inferior morally and socially, with a some time painful admission of an individual exception, but seldom or never a group exception. Thus the American white man so freely betrays his narrow-mindedness, with such a hoggish intent and presumption to monopolize superiority, that he either overlooks or ignores the inferior traits of his masses. The Negro must then perforce, for the sake of a defensive self-preservation set his own ethical standards, which in view of what he knows of the white man, should be higher, more righteous and certainly imbued with a kindlier spirit. But setting a high standard is not enough. He must with a conscious purpose strive for the attainment of his ideal, always mindful that a greater love, a greater self-consciousness and self-respect smooth the pathway which heretofore has been too cluttered with dissensions, unnecessary and disloyal.

In the striving for a higher ideal, a finer culture and a decided place in world affairs, the Negro must learn to capitalize to their full value racial traits and characteristics. These certain traits and characteristics are not necessarily detrimental to racial development simply because the white man

has declared them so. We have already declared that many of his standards are falsely set, ofttimes with a purpose sordid and ulterior. Let the Negro strive to make his racial peculiarities, assets rather than liabilities. He alone can and must do this for himself. He cannot expect any outside agency to aid him in this task. He has no reason to despise the traits that are peculiar to his race, for they are his and in time, with a proper and careful nurturing will certainly have an individualistic value which shall forever stamp his race with the elements of greatness, for men are great only when judged by their own standards. Many say the Negro is shiftless. Does it seem otherwise than humanly natural that men would be other than shiftless in slavery? Why be otherwise? What was to be gained? True many Negroes are shiftless to-day because without hope, but incidentally that shiftlessness has developed a majesty of calmness which has saved the race when another people would have dashed their brains out against the rugged rocks of adversity. Shiftlessness is not peculiarly a Negro trait, for white men have it in large measure with no excuse other than the desire to be so. With the Negro it is a condition forced upon him by circumstances of which he was a victim and is even so to a great degree at the present time. But there is something worth while in a race which can capitalize a faulty condition and make it an asset for salvation. Rather far-fetched, you may say, but the Negro does not

know the meaning of hopelessness, for he has a greater faith in himself than he is ofttimes able to realize.

But the supreme moment in the development of his racial integrity comes when the Negro awakes to the realization of a new and perfect faith in himself and his race. With this awakening will come the dignifying of Negro traits and characteristics heretofore regarded as embarrassing, humiliating and ignoble. In their crude state, yes, but when touched with the hand of culture they become moulded into virtues which shall give to the world new standards of human worth. He will then learn to dignify the very term "Negro" as a classification of his race rather than employing the apologetic, meaningless and weak-kneed expression "colored people" or the justly unpopular hypenated "Afro-American." The Negro must be the one to dignify his race if he wants it done well and satisfactorily. No one else can be trusted with the job and it is reasonable to suppose no one else wants the job. So in this one instance at least the Negro enjoys a monopoly.

The American white man will never recognize the Negro's value to this nation's civilization until the Negro forces it upon him. But first the Negro must himself recognize the value of himself to his race. When a full realization of this value comes to him he will at the same instant have less difficulty and less desire as well as less need for the

white man's recognition, yet it will come in full measure, nevertheless. This is a matter of vital importance to the future of the Negro, to see that all the interests of his race are fused together in one perfect and harmonious whole. Each life must be a thread in the great racial fabric, whose warp and woof are cross currents of opinion and policy for gathering closer the rotten strands into a firmly knit purpose which shall give strength to the whole.

At no time does the Negro need to feel ashamed of his race. True, there are times when the acts of the unscrupulous and the ignorant cannot help but cause embarrassment, which however should last only long enough to point out the duty each one owes to the weaker members of his race, if the fabric is to be made worthy. Even about the shiftless black peasantry there seems to hang a halo both picturesque and poetic, which is just as liable to inspire a smile as a sigh. They indeed typify those quaint songs of cabin, field and soul which have given to America its national music, and for them we must have a tender and sympathetic love. Through music, poetry, art, science, philosophy and general culture the Negro has expressed himself, but a greater expression is yet due. Back to ancient Africa, the mysterious land of his forefathers, let him turn and reflect upon that superb culture and civilization which were choked out by invading Europeans, whose greed overthrew thrones, cult-

ure, trade and glory, all of which it reduced to a powder of unrecorded oblivion. It is now the traces we must gather together to piece out the plan of a new culture founded upon that of other days. As the Jew looks forward to the establishing of a new Jerusalem, the Negro should look to Africa as the land of his hope and inspiration for the estasblishment of a Negro Nationality. To him it must reveal itself as the Fatherland out of which shall come a new hope, and to which he shall carry the best of Western civilization and education, that out of the fusion shall come the new learning founded upon the gentle arts of love and peace.

CHAPTER VIII

Health and Economics

Booker T. Washington has said: "Without health, and until we reduce the high death-rate, it will be impossible for us to have permanent success in business, in property getting, in acquiring eduation, or to show other evidences of progress. Without health and long life all else fails. We must reduce our high death-rate, dethrone disease and enthrone health and long life. We may differ on other subjects, but there is no room for difference here. Let us make a strong, long united pull together."

The question of health is a national one rather than a racial one. The remedy therefore must be of a national character in its application rather than racial. The Negro has made for himself an unenviable reputation for being unhealthy and the victim of an unnecessarily high death-rate. In a great measure the Negro himself is to blame for this, but the entire fault is not his. Yet the accusing finger of race prejudice points to this as one of the most glaring evidences of the undesirability of the Negro as a citizen. When Dr. Washington said

the above he evidently was speaking of the Negro in particular, but the same statement might as well and with equal purpose have been addressed to our nation. The whole-hearted methods adopted to preserve the health of white Americans, when compared with the half-hearted methods to preserve the health of black Americans make a jest of the whole procedure. The Negro always receives the by-product of expended energy in this direction, yet he is expected to measure up to the same physical standards as those who enjoy every opportunity and privilege in the matter of conserving health. This bi-racial tendency which prevails in America regarding all matters great and small, is not consistent with our boasted intelligence and foresight in its attitude toward national health and its relation to national economics.

The Negro is not a victim of ill-health and a high death rate simply because he is a Negro, but he is a victim of circumstances and conditions imposed upon him by American prejudices. For a long time he had no control over these circumstances and conditions, but happily to-day he is beginning in a small way to overcome them. Yet those of the race who are devoting their lives to this sort of work are not getting the support they should from either blacks or whites. With the blacks it is to them a new idea, which requires a carefully-laid campaign of education, and with the whites it is greatly a matter of indifference, which also needs

education. Good health must be regarded as a national asset, equally important in time of peace and war, which is always purchasable. This is an investment that will yield perpetual dividends of comfort, happiness, protection and safety. Many philanthropic persons have seen fit to devote large funds for preserving and protecting the health of white Americans, but comparatively nothing has been spent in the preservation of the health of black Americans. Here lies a wondrous virgin field for the righteous immortalization of some good unbiased American to establish a foundation for the study and improvement of health, social and economic conditions among Negroes. Such a fund could and would do immeasurable service to the Negro race and to the nation.

Throughout the United States there are a number of institutions operated by Negroes which are attempting in a small way to handle their health and economic problems, but are prevented from doing a large and telling work because of the lack of sufficient funds. In most instances both Negroes and whites are doing something by way of contributing to the support of these institutions, but neither is doing what he should in the matter. It is from the whites of whom most is expected for they have the most, but Negroes themselves must learn to know the value of such institutions to their race and make, if necessary, sacrifices for their support. Again the whole matter resolves itself into the

question of education. It has been but recently that whites have learned and appreciated the value of institutions is increasing and with this must come preserving their health. The Negro is learning the same lessons by about the same process that the white man learned them. His cry for health-giving institutions is increasing and with this must come an increased support and a conscious realization of their value, demanding a greater interest and devotion thereto. Since emancipation great amounts of money have been spent in educational institutions for Negroes, and wisely so, but their health-bringing organizations have not been nearly so favored. Yet one must recognize that to-day the modern hospital or sanitarium is always educational in purpose and intent. They are indispensable to our civilization, for education without health or the facilities for acquiring and maintaining health means an economic and social loss, for which the nation must pay.

The problem of ill-health, with its consequent high death rate among Negroes is most acute within the ranks of city dwellers. When thoughtful consideration is given to the crowded and unsanitary conditions in which the masses of the Negroes are forced to live, the question naturally arises, how do they manage to keep their sickness and death rate so low? Rather than, why is it so high? The attempts made by the housing commissions of the larger cities may be sincere in purpose but they

are not resultant in eivdences of improvement. The laws are explicit enough but the American custom of employing political influence to evade the law, on the part of landlords and real estate agents, defeats the purpose of the law. Then, too, there is a general feeling that anything is good enough for Negroes, and that they are content with the deplorable conditions under which they are forced to live in the cities. This is an expression of the typical American sentiment in regard to the Negro, but certainly is contrary to theoretical American ideals and principles. Yet where the Negro is concerned American ideals always suffer from rough usage and injudicious handling. There are classes of Negroes just as there are classes of whites, who are apparently content to live in conditions surrounded by squalor of every sort, but this class is decreasing among all races. As education seeps down into the lower types there comes a desire to improve home comforts with their attendant blessings of love, loyalty and a reaching-out for better things in life. For the whites there is always an easy avenue of escape from these abhorred conditions, but for the Negro escape is almost impossible except by means which the masses are generally too poor to take advantage of.

That all Negroes are not content to live amid such vicious surroundings is evidenced by the fact that certain cities have deemed it wise to adopt an unholy method of segregation, legalized or under-

stood, either of which is just as potent in its application as the other. This satanic un-American policy would never have been adopted if only a few Negroes had sought better living conditions. It came only after there was a wholesale and decided movement on the part of Negroes to free themselves from unhealthy life in miserable dwellings. This proves that "anything is not good enough for Negroes" and they are not content to live an unsanitary and vicious life. They have certainly expressed their own feelings in the matter in a way which has caused alarm to spineless municipalities.

The Negro must himself more thoroughly realize that this is his personal fight to free his people from the blight of unhealthfulness, and the exaggerated accusation that they are a weak and unsanitary people. Particularly should the Negro business man be interested in this matter for he must appreciate the economic loss which goes with ill-health and its presumption on the part of whites. These impressions must be corrected by fact and not theory. A convincing lesson must be carried to the hearts of white men that the Negro is not an unhealthy menace to American institutions but a race of stamina, virility, resisting power and a will to dispute every inch of the way toward a full and wholesome recognition in all avenues of endeavor. It remains for him to prove in no uncertain way that Negro health means Negro wealth, and Negro wealth means National wealth.

It just happens that the affairs of this world are so nicely adjusted that the success, happiness and comfort of one individual depend to a great degree upon the success, happiness and comfort of the other individual. This is no new condition, but only in the last few years has it been emphasized by our advanced civilization, and what is better, it has been placed upon a practical basis. It matters very little whether we call it altruism or co-operation, it is in the final analysis a truth and a necessity which is making friends and converts who immediately find themselves willing to drop the shackles of selfishness.

In this recent development of the altruistic consciousness the question of conserving the health of mankind has played and is playing an important part. The business man with his modern efficiency methods realizes that a sick man is a poor worker and a poor producer. Poor workers and poor producers are always small wage earners. Small wage earners cannot be satisfactory purchasers and consumers. Thus sickness becomes a loss in dollars and cents, of vital consequence to every one. The wage earner who has sickness in his family is an economic loss to the community and the business man who depends upon him and his for the success of his endeavor. When one stops to consider that a great per cent. of all these diseases is preventable, and about the whole question revolves the matter of education, it is expected that

the business man should at once grasp the importance and economic value of good health, and do his part to improve conditions. Good health is a good investment. Poor health represents a money loss. Business men always prefer a good investment. They abhor a loss.

This condition of affairs particularly applies to the Negro business man and his clientele. All the interests of our race must be more closely welded if we hope to improve racial integrity to the degree demanded by the ruthless on-rush of modern civilization. We cannot afford to be merely on-lookers, but we must get into the procession—as near the front as possible. The destiny of our race is to a great measure in the hands of our business men, but they must be made to realize that they can advance no further than the earning capacity of their people. Earning capacity is always decreased by preventable sickness, and the consequent preventable death. The greater part of sickness among Negroes is due to ignorance, indifference and poor living conditions, all of which can in time be reduced to a minimum if the business men of the race are willing to contribute a small bit of their surplus to the various agencies which are endeavoring to satisfy the health, social and economic needs of the Negro. This is offered both as an appeal and a plea for co-operative racial endeavor along a line, a single line which has been recognized by all the great captains of industry as the most vitally im-

portant economic asset to the business man. Wonderfully significant, illuminating, interesting and impressive is the fact that the concrete application of a health propaganda knows no color line.

It is the exception rather than the rule that large corporations make the slightest effort to provide welfare work for their Negro employees. Little or no effort is made to afford for them healthful forms of recreation, yet they are expected to keep just as fit as the white workers. Here again indifference leaves the Negro employee to provide his own recreation, unguided by trained workers, more frequently than otherwise, to his physical detriment. This is one-sided, hence poor economics. It should not require any great amount of argument to persuade employers that a man healthy and strong always feels like doing a full day's work easier, better and more satisfactory to himself and his employer. In this his color should play no part at all. Good health doubles the value of one's services to God and man. Good health and cleanliness breed and create a contempt for ignorance, immorality and depravity, and stimulate a desire for intelligence, clean living, morality and a greater faith in God and man. This comes as a result of the economic advancement of any people without regard to race, in the process of which all people gain. If there is a consistent application of hygienic and sanitary science directed toward the welfare of the Negro, his health will be conserved as well as the

whites and the nation gets the results thereof. Sickness and death must come but in many instances both are preventable if a conscious effort is directed against their onslaught. If economics insist upon drawing the color line in this matter the nation must pay the penalty. Patriotism should decree otherwise.

We are beginning to observe, with a great deal of satisfaction and interest, a tendency upon the part of the whites to awake to a sense of dutiful co-operation in the matter of relieving health conditions among Negroes. The beginning is rather encouraging, and if we are able to develop within them a consistent and continuous effort, it will not be long before the health and living conditions among Negroes will be on a par with those of the average American. It remains for us as a race to give our full co-operation in the matter, as a more practically applied education leads us to see the importance of such a movement. To Dr. Booker T. Washington and the National Negro Business League, of which he was founder and president up unto his death, we are indebted for the establishment of a National Negro Health Week. More than any other one thing, this movement has called the attention of Negroes throughout the nation to the value and importance of good health. This propaganda is on a good working basis, doing a great good, and best of all, is getting results. Like most things this great man did, the Health Week was in-

troduced to the race in a plain, practical way, calling to their attention the most elementary principles of good health and how to attain it. Negroes all over the land, both North and South have caught the spirit and inspiration of that great teacher and they are making a practical application of the lessons he taught.

But the one great crime committed against the health of a race and a nation is the discriminating tactics practiced by state and civic institutions against the sick Negro. Nor is this crime confined to the South, indeed, it is only too frequent in Northern communities where we have been led to expect better dealing. The shame of it all becomes greater when we realize that such practices are masquerading under the name of science. What a travesty on science when it permits itself to be hampered in the attaining of results by the color line. It does not require a mind of scientific training to at once realize that any such half-hearted methods impregnated with prejudice are on their face unscientific, inhuman and farcical. When it is considered how closely the races are brought in daily touch, it must at once become apparent that any effort intended to conserve the health of a nation must include all. If it presumes to dictate who shall be benefited and who shall not, it results in little or no benefit to any one. In short, the white man must realize that his health problem cannot be

solved as long as he is indiffertnt or careless regarding the Negro's health problem. But it is science which should blush with shame for the inhuman and unscientific sins committed in her name by these weak-kneed individuals who would call themselves scientists, when in truth they are but opportunists playing to the gallery. Yet in many instance the institutions themselves stand upon the high ground of equal care for all, theoretically and legally speaking. But their mal-administration is perpetrated by individuals in charge who evade alike law and theory by deeply-laid plans, adoritly executed to make Negroes dissatisfied with the attention given them. The result then follows that the institution gets a bad name among Negroes and is tabooed by them. Then the records of the institution show that few Negroes come for treatment, and the assertion is made that they are not interested in improving their health conditions, but these same records never show the real cause of the black man's antipathy. The law may decree fair treatment and care for all, but experience has shown us that it very seldom takes a strong and determined stand when the rights of the Negro are concerned.

This brings us back to the matter of our own health institutions. It may be an unfortunate and expensive condition of affairs which makes necessary such institutions, but it is the result of American prejudice, and America must pay for this, her

favorite pastime. The question of the Negro's health demands a satisfactory answer both for the welfare of the Negro and the nation. Under present conditions it appears that no one is as willing and fit to answer this vital question as the Negro himself through his various and poorly supported health institutions. This is just as much the white man's problem as it is the Negro's, for it is a problem which comprehends and transcends both, in that it is a national problem upon which our whole system of economics depends. Can we too strongly urge that some big-hearted, fair-minded philanthropist come forth and establish a foundation for the study and improvement of health, social and economic conditions among Negroes?

The immigration of Negroes into the North has tended to intensify both social and health problems, but has created no new ones. Upon the other hand it has relieved a perilous economic condition in the North. In many instances the Negro has been so thoroughly recognized as an economic asset that corporations have found it both wise and expedient to create welfare advantages for him. This is a step in the right direction and points toward a hopeful outcome. Thus the thing which was at first regarded as a calamity by many whites and blacks in the North has turned out to be a help to both. The Negro in this particular instance held a strategic point, in that he was able to supply a

demand when that demand was most urgent. Negro labor has saved the economic situation in the North, and the North is beginning to respond to the Negro's needs in a kindlier and more practical tone than ever before. It is true that Negroes coming from the South must face different climatic conditions than those to which they have been accustomed, and they must pay the penalty. It is true that many of them have sickened and died, but after all death is worth while if it pays the price for liberty. No race or people has ever won liberty without paying for it with their blood, and the Negro cannot hope to be an exception to the rule. Their coming out of the South is an expression of discontent with the inhuman conditions which they have been made to suffer there. This exodus has struck a blow at the economic heart of the South which is more potent than bloody riot and insurrection. Men in the North should throw their protecting arms with their organized influence about our pilgrim brothers from the Southland. They are helping us and we must help them.

In a crisis, strong, healthy men are needed. This is not an individual or a racial need but a national need, and the nation is short-sighted which does not realize its duty to all men at such a time. The Negro is ready, willing and anxious to play a man's part at all times, but he wants to feel that the nation has a heart-interest in him commensurate with

that which goes with a patriotic citizenship. He cries for a human justice, which gives him a man's chance, an American's chance to build up his social, health and economic protecting walls about the most sacred of all institutions, his home—his family.

CHAPTER IX

Tuberculosis, the Great Waste

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The death rate of Negroes from tuberculosis is between two and a half and three times as great as that of the white race in proportion to the population of each. This bald statement when brought to the attention of the average person at once conveys the impression that this is another evidence of the physical weakness of the Negro and that his predisposition to this disease is a racial trait.

The consideration of any scientific subject demands at the very beginning that the investigator shall be of an open mind. Unless he can proceed without being biased by any preconceived ideas or prejudices his investigations will become one-sided.

He will be found to be putting down his conclusions first and conducting his studies so as to prove his previous convictions.

In one of the leading text books on tuberculosis is a chapter on "Tuberculosis in the Negro." This book is a classic along the line of this particular branch of medicine, and when I saw in the index this chapter noted I turned to it at once expecting to find a scientific discussion of this subject quite in keeping with the rest of the book. Much to my disappointment, however, I found an essay which dealt mostly with the alleged shiftlessness of the Negro and the evils of teaching him Latin, Greek and the higher mathematics. In addition the article contained some offhand statements to the disparagement of the Negro which are not borne out by investigation. The consideration of such a vital subject in such an easy-going and unscientific manner neither produces information nor accomplishes anything, save possibly the production of wrong impressions. Happily the majority of persons who have written upon this subject have treated it in a more dignified and scholarly manner.

Those who contend that the prevalence of this disease among Negroes is a racial characteristic have become fewer in number, and in the majority are now convinced that it is the result of social and economic conditions. In one of the most recent works on tuberculosis the author brings this point out most clearly, showing that the same conditions

which predispose whites to this plague are those which are prevalent among Negroes to an even larger degree proportionately. In a recent pamphlet issued by the United States Public Health Service upon the death rate among the colored people it was contended that if a classification of deaths in the average community could be made according to economic status—that is, according to the family income, a difference in the mortality rates would be obtained approximately as great as that resulting from a white and colored classification. Tuberculosis is a disease principally of the poor, the badly housed, the untutored. The Negro suffers largely from these ills. Through his dogged determination to improve his material condition all of these things have been bettered. And so has his death rate from tuberculosis.

There has been a lowering of the mortality rate from tuberculosis among the entire population. That among the whites has been due in a large measure to the work of physicians and others particularly interested in this great humanitarian effort. That among the Negroes has not been due to this work to the same degree. By no means has the same consideration been given to the Negro tuberculous as to others. The provisions for his cure are meagre and apparently in some cases grudgingly given. The lack of sanatoria accommodations has made preventitive work among the colored population most difficult.

Tuberculosis knows no color line. There is neither a white tuberculosis, nor a Negro tuberculosis. If this disease is to be wiped out, it must be wiped out among all alike, and the campaign must be conducted upon the broad ground of humanity. The Negro and the white man are so closely associated in business and domestic life that whatever disease one has the other must also get. The economic loss to the community through sickness and death of its black laborers will be as surely felt as through the sickness and death of its white laborers. In no other disease has such a one-sided policy of extermination been pursued as in this. Suppose it were in regard to smallpox, for instance? The results would be ruinous.

There is a great work to be done in this anti-tuberculosis campaign if there is a real sincerity of purpose in it, and if the results are to be consistent with the efforts put forth and the money spent. The attitude of shutting the door of hope in the face of the black tuberculous by excluding them from sanatoria, public and private, is not only heartless but almost criminal. The only commonwealths which appear to offer the same opportunities to the Negro in this particular are those in which the colored population is negligible. I know of one northern state in particular which has several large and complete sanatoria which take care of several thousand tuberculous. Although the Ne-

gro population in that state is large, and now on account of reecnt migration from the South, rapidly growing, the accommodation for colored patients in the various sanatoria is scarcely one hundred. These Negro patients do not receive the same opportunities for outdoor treatment and hence cannot make the same progress. And in addition, applicants for admission are compelled to wait two or three times as many weeks before being admitted as white applicants. And yet those who controll these policies are complacent in the belief that they are doing all they ought. No man does all he ought who does not do what is right and just. And how much more reprehensible is the failure to be just when it is toward the sick.

In a recent editorial, one of the leading weeklies of the country calls attention to the fact that according to a statement of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis all but a very few of the tuberculosis sanatoria of the country are closed to the Negro. It continues by warning its readers that this fact carries a serious menace to the health of the nation. Mention is made that the South is rapidly waking up to the danger of allowing communicable diseases to run riot through the Negro race, and makes note that at the State Prison of Tennessee a tuberculosis hospital ward has been added for Negroes. The note is inclined to make one think that possibly it would be better to be a convict if one should be so

unfortunate as to be afflicted with tuberculosis. The small state of Delaware has set an example that should be followed by other states where the Negro population warrants. A sanatorium for Negroes has been established near Wilmington, directed by a Negro physician and administered by two Negro graduate nurses.

Dr. Landis, Director of the Clinical and Sociological Departments of the Henry Phipps Institute, is sponsor for the idea that the anti-tuberculosis work among Negroes should be done by Negro physicians and Negro nurses. At first glance it would not appear to the average person that there would be any opposition to such a logical proposition. There is no doubt whatever that any similar proposition in regard to any other class of our population, Hebrews or Italians, for instance, would meet with hearty approbation from everybody. On the other hand, however, almost any proposition concerning Negroes that tends to regard him in any but an unfavorable manner develops opposition unreasonably and unjustly.

There appears to be greater objections to the Negro physician being admitted into this work among his own people than to the Negro nurse. The reasons given are varied. There can be no doubt, as has been demonstrated, that the Negro physician, as well as the nurse, can obtain by virtue of a closer relationship better results. These results will necessarily redown to the greater suc-

cess of the entire movement. That all of the better thinking persons controlling this white plague campaign will eventually come to this conclusion is inevitable. So why waste time and lives by putting off the day? In some communities this idea has already been accepted and put into practice with marked success, notably in Philadelphia.

The matter of housing is one of the most important in this work. It is well known that the Negro gets less value for money expended in regard to living quarters than any other class of citizens. That he usually lives in the most unsanitary houses in the most unsanitary portion of towns and cities is not from choice. A recent survey in one of the larger cities in the North showed that ten per cent. of the properties of that city were not underdrained. However, 33 1-3 per cent. of the houses occupied by Negroes were not underdrained. If there are any disadvantages from an unsanitary house the Negro was certainly reaping them in this instance in almost the ratio as he was succumbing to tuberculosis as compared with the whites. The matter of housing is a large subject worthy of consideration separately, but I merely wish at this time to mention its relationship to this disease. In the South especially it is presenting one of the most difficult problems the Negroes have to contend with, namely the matter of segregation. This will always handicap any effort they may put forth to

improve their housing conditions. And hence segregation is another obstacle in the anti-tuberculosis campaign.

The attitude of the Negro toward tuberculosis is changing gradually, and will change more rapidly when he becomes an active part of this work against this disease. Like all other human beings he takes most interest in those movements of which he is a part. If he has no experience with sanatoria, if the preventative campaigns are entirely administered by those whose sincerity of interest in him he doubts, he will express to himself if not to others that so far as he is concerned it is but another issue of discrimination brought against him. I know from personal experience in my own clinics, and by observation of the work done by others of my race, that with his own acting in his behalf the Negro tuberculous will give the fullest co-operation he is capable of.

Most Negroes of the uneducated class regard tuberculosis in any stage as an absolutely fatal disease. They are not in touch with the modern ideas of prevention and of treatment with so-called cure or arrest. They are not readers and as yet have not been reached by the propaganda against this disease except in a few communities. One of the best ways to carry this message to these millions would be through their ministers. They come in contact with a large proportion of those who are in need of these lessons. Their interest in this gospel of

health should be twofold. Not only would these sermons on hygiene and sanitation given in co-operation with the physicians mean a race betterment, but increase the prosperity of the material side of the church by lessening sickness within its midst and the expensive charity which often accompanies it.

Another important avenue by which this crusade could make itself felt is through the fraternal and beneficial organizations, of which there are a large number among the Negro race. They have a membership of considerably over a million men. women and children. They handle in funds and real estate value many millions of dollars. Among their chief objects is "taking care of the sick and burying the dead." Many of them carry large endowment funds and nearly all pay weekly sick benefits. Their entrance into this anti-tuberculosis campaign would not only be to their financial advantage by helping to reduce the morbidity and mortality among their membership, but would be in the true sense of the word a fraternal act. Some of these organizations have already begun to pay attention to the health of their members. One has established a sanitarium in Arkansas, though not for tuberculosis, and another has established a health bureau.

In summarizing I would call attention to these claims. Though the Negro has a greater mortality rate from tuberculosis than the white race, it is due not to an inherent racial tendency but in the main

to economic and social conditions under which he lives. Most of these conditions he is not responsible for. He has lessened this inequality of death rate mainly by his improvement in certain economic and social conditions within his control rather than by virtue of the coordinate anti-tuberculosis movement in this country, because these efforts have been directed toward the amelioration of this disease principally among others. If tuberculosis is to be exterminated appreciably the same effort must be put forth among Negroes as among the white race, and if there is a sincerity of purpose in this crusade this will be done. The greatest good will be accomplished and the most rapid progress will be made if Negro physicians and nurses are used in this work among Negroes. And further, co-operation of the Negro ministry and Negro fraternal organizations should be sought in order to take the lessons of prevention and cure to the masses of these people. Such an attitude means not merely a benefit to the Negro but greater credit to those engaged in the work, an economic saving to the nation and a result worthy of the effort put forth.

CHAPTER X

Getting His Bearings—Rent and Ownership

We have said elsewhere that the sudden shock of emancipation stunned both whites and Negroes. The whites were the first to recover from the blow, while the Negro is just beginning to get his bearings preparatory for the realization of a concrete American citizenship. While emancipation was the one thing for which Negroes hoped and prayed, and the one thing which the nation demanded for its own salvation, it was brought about in a way decidely more sympathetic than practical. The sentiment which was always associated with emancipation has come down as a heritage to Americans which has in a large measure fixed their attitude toward Negroes. The disposition to regard the Negro merely as a ward of the nation rather than an effective citizen, capable of contributing his portion to the cause of Americanism, after a long flourishing, selfish life is to-day approaching a justfiable end. The Negro is awakening to his possibilities, his importance and the part he must play in the future. The white is at the same time beginning

to gradually acknowledge that the Negro does and must occupy an important place in the realms of national integrity. It is particularly fortunate for America that each race is getting his bearings at about the same time. Out of this a satisfactory adjustment must ultimately come.

Immediately after emancipation most naturally the first task in front of the bulk of the blacks was that of home-making. If one stops to think a moment he will at once realize that this was no easy undertaking. Then, upon the other hand, when one stops to think of the situation to-day which has been artificially and unjustly created to hamper Negroes in the matter of home-making, he must realize that the black man went about his task with a marked determination to succeed. The laws which many communities have passed to segregate Negro home-makers are part compliment and part insult to the black man, the remainder being the usual sense of American injustice toward him. In those communities where no laws have been made affecting this people and their homes, a cowardly custom expressed or implied, ofttimes both, has been as effective as a law. There are two angles from which this condition of affairs must be viewed, from the white man's standpoint and from that of the Negro. Always, however, there is a national significance back of the whole procedure, which America is inclined to regard as unimportant when the Negro is concerned. No one but a Negro can

appreciate the many petty annoyances he is forced to suffer in all lines of endeavor because of the many mean, small acts, legal and otherwise, which are put into play to stifle the Negro's attempt to be really a free citizen. The restrictions placed in operation by some subtle trick of legislation or custom against the Negro and his endeavor at home-making are not consistent with America's boasted stand for democracy. Certainly every citizen has a right under the laws of a democracy to have the best home he can afford, and should be encouraged rather than hampered in attaining the same.

With the white man, the matter of restricting Negro homes to certain sections is in most instances a defensive business policy. Sometimes justly and sometimes unjustly, Negroes bear a reputation for causing a depreciation of property values. This is a sad and unfortunate condition of affairs, but the weight of evidence is against the Negro, and until he proves that his presence does not depreciate value, he must abide by the consequences. Unfortunately the Negro gained this unenviable reputation years ago, when he had little or no taste of education, refinement or culture. But to-day, even though he is getting a firmer, sounder grip upon the essentials of a highly-developed civilization, and is applying all in his home life, he must suffer for the errors and ignorance of the past. This is particularly galling to the higher

types of the race, who ofttimes in their desire to radically improve their living conditions are thwarted and embarrassed by this hapless tradition. Among the lower types there is not so much concern, for as a rule, they have grown accustomed to herding together under all sorts of conditions. Yet even among them, there ofttimes comes a desire to escape and improve their home surroundings. It is interesting to note that in most such instances this desire is stimulated by a wish to surround their growing children with a better environment, consistent with the education they are acquiring. At times they succeed, but more often they find themselves restrained by conditions which menace the success of their endeavor. Happily, the health and hygienic lessons taught in the public schools are going into the Negro homes and doing a specific and concrete good by creating a desire for better living.

This is, indeed, a hopeful sign and emphasizes the value of education as the great rectifier of the masses. We need not have any concern for the higher types of Negroes, for their living and home life are always on a par with those of whites of the same class. The struggle is always with the masses, those who make up the slum life of the cities and the shanty dwellings in the rural districts. Education is carrying its meed of health and a desire for home comforts to many families who catch the inspiration and begin to improve conditions of

living. This is encouraging and marks a beginning on the part of the Negro to repudiate the reputation he has made for disgraceful and unsanitary home life. Negro leaders are doing much to carry the lessons of better homes to the masses, for they realize that it does a two-fold good in making a better race and a better reputation, which in a measure touches all classes. There is not much difference between the white slums and the Negro slums, but all Negroes suffer more from the depravity of their masses than even the most liberal and charitable white man can imagine. His interest in his masses is either charitable or indifferent for he is never judged by their conduct, but our interest in our masses is always vital and personal, for we are made to bear the sting of their misdoing. At times this hardly seems just or fair, but upon second thought I wonder if just this condition of affairs is not developing a finer spirit of racial altruism, and welding all race interests into a closer, firmer bond of dutiful love.

I am quite certain, but for a few exceptions, there is no desire or intention on the part of Negroes to live apart from their race, and those few are not worthy of any serious consideration. The gregarious tendency of the race is too strong for any such endeavor even if such were either contemplated or feared. Yet it is shamefully undemocratic to hinder a man from living where he wishes, when he can afford and is willing to pay for the privilege,

upon no other grounds than his race. Legalized segregation and that obtained by adroit manipulation are always causing many instances of inconvenience to both races, some of which are so ridiculous as to be really humorous. This fact alone is calculated to cause the death of the custom, for like the whole category of the various phases of American prejudice the element of jest is too strong for it to endure. Let us be patient.

On the other hand, if Negroes must live within certain confines they should be the first to take advantage of the condition rather than ineffectively grumble over it. If Negroes must live in a certain section of the city they should strive to make that the best section. Here is a wonderful opportunity to derive great benefit from the combined development of both civic and race pride. The economic, social and political opportunities are capable of such a perfect out-reaching and growth that soon the Negro learns the advantages to be gained from a closer touch, a more sympathetic touch with his race. His economic force to the entire community can be more thoroughly impressed upon the interested and uninterested observer of his progress and worth as a national asset. The social touch should serve as a potent factor in the upbuilding of the various institutions required by every group for their betterment. And finally the field of politics, judiciously cultivated, should give the race a power to demand certain things which are essential to

representative citizenship. If the neighborhood is in need of improvement as to health, sanitary and housing conditions, a combination of these forces can obtain results. The asking for things and continually and determinedly asking for them usually gets them. In all the Negro stands to gain and never lose.

The fact is, these are the efforts which are being carried on in every Negro community ofttimes, however, in too small a way, without that concentration of purpose which alone gets results. For after all the character of a people is determined by their home life, their neighborhood life. There must therefore be a conscious determination on the part of Negroes to rid their communities of the menace of the corner loafer with his noise, and the unspeakable hives of vice which reflect upon the character of the race. True, this presents a big social problem, which the white man also has, but it can be dealt with effectively, if the proper machinery is set to work. The white man deals with his at a distance, and we should deal with ours more thoroughly because we have it forced upon us at closer range, and it therefore is a more serious menace to us. For fear of being misunderstood, I wish it made clear that I am opposed to both legalized and manipulated segregation of the races because it is undemocratic and un-American. But I do believe that taking advantage of a condition to create a better sentiment and policy will some day

serve as a potent factor for the removal of that condition. The Negro has been surprised and caught up into a civilization for which he was unprepared, and now he must get a firm and determined grasp upon the scope of its demands. It is necessary for him to possess and develop a willingness to adopt rather than insult custom, when such custom is high-minded in purpose. Unfortunately the Negro got wrecked upon the rocks of social and economic inefficiency, and now it becomes the duty and task of our leaders to drag him off into the safe waters of social and economic stability.

The question of the Negro neighborhood is one of vital importance in the matter of racial development. The unsightly, unwholesome and undignified conditions too often found therein are doing much to keep alive the prejudice which besets the black man on every side of his life. For such conditions the Negro is not wholly to blame, but it is certain that he does not exercise all the forces he might to improve them. The laxity on the part of municipalities, landlords and agents in regard to improvements necessary for comfortable and sanitary living can be checkmated by a concerted demand, backed up by a fine sense of appreciation for such improvements. Failure to show a desire and an appreciation for better housing conditions very often cause the wholesale neglect of the Negro neighborhood. Furthermore it is the reputed or apparent manifestations of such an attitude that

closes the door to Negroes when they go house-hunting. We might as well look the situation squarely in the face if we wish to adjust it. As a people we have made for ourselves through our neighborhoods a very bad reputation, and it must be our duty to strive to live it down by making our homes and neighborhoods models of neatness, cleanliness and decorum. The white man himself has only rather recently developed a fairly healthy civic pride with its neighborhood improvement ideas, so we need not feel chagrined at having our sections so severely criticized. Littered-up pavements, unsightly signs, broken-out windows, feeble fences, one-hinged doors, window siestas, boisterousness with dirty and negligee gossiping crowds will kill any neighborhood, white or black. These pictures are all too frequent among Negro dwellers. In a street where Negroes live there may be a majority of families who live in an orderly and decent manner, but if the minority present any of the evidences of bad taste above outlined they are always the ones to stamp the character of the neighborhood. This is unfortunate but true. Sin is always more glaring than virtue.

In the larger cities there is always a scarcity of houses for the Negro renter. This the Negro usually charges up to prejudice, but in all cases this is not so true as the fact that he is regarded as a menace to property values and up-keep. It is a well-known characteristic of renters, with some

exceptions, that they do not exercise any too high a regard for the care and protection of the property of others. Custom seems to have decided rather definitely that this characteristic is pretty general with Negro renters. Of course this is not true of all, but it is no difficult matter to collect enough evidence in this regard to fix a rather hard and fast rule. I have talked with many owners and agents relative to this matter, who profess to have no prejudice, but are actuated only by the fact that Negro renters always change the character of the neighborhood, never for better but always for worse. Certainly they all admit this is not true of all Negro renters, but in order to make a careful selection requires too great a cost in money and time for the returns obtained. This, even in spite of the fact that Negro renters are usually required to pay more than white renters, which they willingly do! Here is another evidence of the economic loss suffered by Negroes because of the reputation they have made as bad tenants. This difficulty experienced by Negroes in obtaining homes brings about crowding, which results in unwholesome moral and health conditions, both of which are a decided menace to racial development and progress.

When large operators and investors are approached upon the matter of building sanitary, up-to-date homes for Negro occupancy, they usually refuse to do so. Why? They do not regard the Negro as a desirable tenant. He will pay more rent

than the white man, but his reputation for not appreciating the efforts to properly house him again rise up and frighten away the possible builder. Recently, however, there is a beginning to erect sanitary, comfortable homes for Negroes, in a small and experimental way. Happily it is actually being proven, that with the advance of the race in education and higher standards of living, they make most excellent and careful tenants, showing a decided appreciation for the comforts of real homes. In most instances these experiments have been conducted by housing agencies, and their enthusiasm for the success they have met must sooner or later attract others to provide better homes for the Negro tenant. The most refreshing fact of all is that Negroes of some wealth are organizing themselves into companies to build better homes for their people. This is an expression of a higher sense of duty and regard for their own, which springs from hearts stimulated by cultural attainments to demonstrate a practical intra-racial love. Such is both a protective and aggressive policy which the Negro of the present and future shall assert more and more, out of which he shall gain a strength, a confidence, a worth potent and decisive.

Along the outer edge surrounding the intense Negro neighborhood it is quite customary to find the best class of renters and owners, mostly owners. These homes are models of neatness, cleanli-

ness and bear all the evidences of the highest culture and refinement. The decorum of the occupants within their homes and on the street is typical of that in exclusive white neighborhoods. What a pity it is that this sort of people of both races do not come in close contact and know more of each other. The white race is absolutely ignorant of this type of Negro, nor does he dream of the advancement he is making along all lines. But some day the white man will awake from his blistful sleep of ignorance and indifference to find a new man at his side and that man will be a black man. To such unpardonable ignorance as this is due the fact that all Negro home-seekers are regarded as alike and treated as such. This is the sort of ignorance which retards the building and development on a large scale of suitable homes for Negro renters. It is a pitiful and sordid ignorance that knows no Negro but the worst type and nothing of his home life and home ambitions except that found in the slums and shanties. Nor can it be said to be a least bit flattering to the average white American's intelligence that though twelve millions of a race of people make up a part of our nation, he knows so little of them.

The Negro who starts out to buy a home always receives a kinder consideration than he who starts out to rent one. The magical power of the dollar held on sufficient numbers to raise one to the dignity of landlord tends at least momentarily to re-

duce prejudice to the minimum. Every time a Negro purchases a home he deals prejudice a terrible blow and creates a higher respect for himself and his race. The various embarrassing and insulting experiences the Negro renter has undergone have played a wonderful part in making him a purchaser The freedom and independence which come from ownership is a story told so often among Negroes that to-day we find them important factors in the realty market. The advertisements in all the papers offering certain advantages of small amount down and easy terms to "Colored Buyers" are wonderfully significant and stamp the Negro an asset to be reckoned with by real estate operators. The Negro who is buying is therefore creating a better sentiment on the part of real-estate men for the renter of his race, and secures for him a gentler and more courteous consideration. The real estate man is prompted by the possibility of business, for the signs point toward the day when the renter will be a purchaser. The difficulties experienced by Negroes in attempting to rent homes from supercilious and insulting white real-estate men has helped the black man two-fold. In the first place he has become a larger purchaser. Secondly he has made the Negro real-estate man a popular and successful necessity, and working together they have demanded and received at least polite consideration and respect from the white realty operator. Thus the Negro is getting his bearings in the matter of

home-making. As usual he has succeeded best when he came face to face with adversity, in accordance with a peculiar knack of that providence which seems to guide the destinies of black men.

There is no fixed law for the conduct of renters, for after all it is the individual rather than the race who glorifies or desecrates the property of another. While Negroes have made bad reputations as renters they are beginning to outlive the accusations as a newer, finer sense of intelligence and a desire for better living come to them. But the hope of the race is not expressed so much in its renting class as within those who are buying. Pride comes with the purchase of a home, asserting an independence and freedom which can never be experienced by the man who rents. The man who owns his home is protecting not only himself but his family and his race. Every day finds Negroes buying homes, good homes, fine homes, and sometimes perchance they buy too close to some narrow-minded white man, who either builds a spite fence or arouses a neighborhood indignation meeting. In some instances serious difficulties have arisen, but generally the skies of dissensions clear early in the strife and the sunshine of a kindlier understanding warms the hearts of both to a neighborly and sympathetic adjustment of racial antipathy. It is better so, for one can never know but that a time may come when no one shall hear his cry for help but the man next door, and let us hope he is a friend.

CHAPTER XI.

Getting His Bearing (Continued) Business Development.

The Negro is as yet a mere child in business. This enforced retardation of a national group in the fundamentals of national stability is nothing short of a national crime. It is both absurd and foolish to even dream that twelve million Americans can continually be denied a place in the American business world. To pursue such a campaign of unrighteous and discriminating selfishness in Ameri ca is both short-sighted and suicidal to national integrity. This can only be proven when the test comes and then it may be too late. The failure of America to meet the demands of the crisis means much to all Americans, white and black alike, but it must always mean more to whites than to blacks. We regret that the American attitude toward the Negro makes such a condition necessary and true, for no one could be happier and more willing than the Negro to share glory or calamity with an equal zeal when the test comes to our nation. In America great business has been conducted and is being

conducted of which the Negro knows absolutely nothing, for he has been denied every opportunity to sare therein. He has been and is now regarded merely as an outsider without business and commercial worth. The skilled trades, the business offices of great corporations, the banks of the nation and all the inner workings of national affairs have together with one accord slammed the door of opportunity in his black face. These are all to him as closed books of which he knows nothing except what he has gained by the theoretical route. Every patriotic American must certainly realize that such is an unsafe and insane national policy, for which some day some one must pay unless America wakes up and retrenches from this unfortunate dereliction of a safe and protective duty to her citizens and herself. Idle hands, unskilled idle minds, untrained to meet the crisis are destined to wreckt he ship of state in the stormy seas of adversity.

It is difficult to believe that a nation so great as America would stoop so low as to permit an unnecessary prejudice bind her to the economic and commercial possibilities of more than twelve millions of her citizens. This prejudice is in itself more mental, more psychological than actual. A great national movement backed up by a National determination can stamp it out over night, never again to return as a blight upon the economic and political life of America and its boasted spirit of de-

mocracy. Such unjust, unworthy, undemocratic and unsafe discrimination is difficult to believe of American intelligence and foresight, but the evidence in the case convicts the nation and more than once has caused hed to be held up to ridicule by other great nations of the world. America can not preach democracy to the world and commit such flagrant, undemocratic crime within her land against her own citizens simply because God has created them black. That the Negro is a mere child in the business world to-day means that America has not had the business acumen and foresight to develop a tremendous reserve national asset, to be drawn upon when the need comes. Prejudice has made a great nation blind and I fear only the sting of the lash can cause the scales to drop from her eyes. Must we wait for that, or shall we begin treatment immediately—to-day?

The American Negro has made effort upon effort, attempt upon attempt to get a definite place in the business world of his nation. He has begged for a trial. He has prayed for an opportunity. He has hoped that an experiment would be made to test his ability, worth and capability. All these, except in the rarest instances have been ruthlessly denied him. He has been untried and theoretically declared unfit. It is always a most unintelligent and unwise policy of the rankest sort of presumption to declare any man unfit without a trial. The spirit of fair play and a square deal must have a hearing.

The Negro asks no charitable consideration. He asks only a man's chance to prove himself. In those few instances where this sort of chance has come, most all of the unprejudiced records show that he has "made good." In most instances, stimulated by the chance of opportunity and conscious of the fact that he is on trial and bears the burden of his whole race upon his shoulders, he has usually exceeded the excellence of the average man. Does it appear to be a risk to give such a man a man's chance? Cannot America see the wisdom in assimilating this sort of worth, ambition and integrity into her code of economic ethics?

The nightmare which haunts America most is the fear of a social assimilation. This the Negro does not want, for the new black man of to-day is bent upon preserving his racial integrity and the expression of his racial culture, which are always tending to bind closer his social forces. Social assimilation is not the Negro's method of settling his racial affairs in America. He is becoming more and more concerned in the development of a great racial structure within his own which shall unquestionably prove to America his right to enjoy an untrammelled and unhampered citizenship that positively and definitely asserts his value to his nation. He wants a reason to be proud of America and a reason to make America proud of him .

Deprived of the opportunity to get into a place of trust and worth in the white man's business

world, he has struck forth and established a business world of his own. Small and feeble at first, in which experience was dearly bought and paid for, it is to-day growing more and more effective as a national asset and binding a race closer together. You may say this was just the thing for him to do, and results show that he has profited thereby. This we shall not and cannot deny. But when one stops to count the cost in energy and wealth which has been wasted in the price paid for unguided and misdirected experimentation, he sees at once a great loss to a people and the nation. If guidance of the proper sort had been given, fewer mistakes would have been made and the element of loss would not have played so sad a part in the history of a struggling race which came out of slavery empty-handed. The proper sort of guidance and direction can come only from experience, which the Negro was never permitted to obtain. If the man who, as porter sweeps the grocery store, catches the inspiration to some day have a store of his own he is not to be blamed or discouraged, but should rather be aided and congratulated. If that porter is a white man , and shows an interest, he is advanced step by step as he proves his worth until some day he becomes a factor in the business, a skilled and experienced business man. But if that porter is a black man and shows an interest he is seldom or never advanced. In fact, I have known of many instances in which he has had the

temerity to express a desire for advancement, and his reward has been a notice of discharge. Now this is usually the sort of inspired but untrained and inexperienced Negro who goes into business, and whether he fails or succeeds he always pays the price demanded of the unskilled. This I contend is not merely a racial loss but a national loss for it is hindering the rise of an individual, his family and his race who are a part of the nation, which is just as responsible to them as they are to it. The nation can never escape the fate of the individual or the race entering into its make-up. The neglected link in the chain is always the weakest and makes the pulling power uncertain and hazardous, when a little consistent attention to all its links makes it fit for one long, hard pull together.

While the Negro is slowly but steadily building up a business world of his own at a horrible cost of energy, time and money, due to the inefficiency of inexperience he is, in spite of it all, making a most remarkable progress. But there yet remain so many fields which he has yet untouched in a large way. He has untouched them through no desire of his, but because the silent but potent forces of prejudice have barred his way thereto. It is time for America to awake to a sense of her duty to all her citizens and herself, and no longer be blinded by a foolish prejudice, which is defeating a great national purpose and ideal. The perpetuation of this great American sin must some day bring a na-

tional regret and possibly humiliation. The question of cultivating within the Negro a greater love for the nation has been and even now is being unpatriotically neglected. We in America to-day face a crisis the end and result of which no man knows. America needs efficient citizens without regard to their color. When the need becomes greater which it surely will, who will then stop to inquire as to the color of the efficient? The Negro is always loyal to and loves America purely upon his own initiative, but certainly due to no national effort to inspire him thus. He loves America because it is his country, his home, by the same right of adoption as that experienced and enjoyed by the white man of America. He therefore wishes to contribute the full force and weight of his might in defending his country, his America. But in order to render a full service he must be taken into the full confidence of big business for the training that is necessary to make men fit and efficient.

There is no objection on the part of the Negro to being menial, a position which always dwarfs is held forth to him the hope of a rise in the business consistent with the interest and ability he manifests in it. Negroes have become accustomed to being menials, a position which always dwarfs ambition because it is without hope for him. I sometimes wonder how and why they render as efficient service as they do, when they know that for them there seldom comes any reward of advance-

ment for merit. The one great advantage of beginning low in the scale and working higher, step by step, is that one gains more and more efficiency all along the way. The Negro has become well grounded in the duties of the menial position, for he has held it so long, but now he seeks to reap a reward for that faithfulness which has gone unrewarded all these years. He seeks to know, he seeks to do, in order that he can render his famliy, his home, his nation a greater, a higher and a better service. Can America consistently afford to make no place for this man? Can America afford to turn a deaf ear to the plea of this man?

But, nevertheless the Negro is working the matter out for himself, gaining a little knowledge here, a little experience there, and meeting a little obstacle everywhere, yet he is getting his bearings in the business world. It is intensely interesting to hear the stories of these men, their troubles and their trials which they have encountered and conquered before entering fully into the magical and romantic world of business. Many Negroes who are to-day successful business men were formerly menials, but seeing in such position no hope of reward, have struck out for themselves, filled with a new hope and faith in their ability to do bigger and better things. There is no defeating a race which can produce such men as these. Many of them are untutored, untrained and crude, but their hearts beat true with the determined spirit of the pioneer

as they have blazed the trail for the new generation of their race. The great handicap suffered by the Negro business man always has been and is now to even a greater degree, a lack of sufficient capital and an inadequate practical knowledge of the various avenues and subtleties of trade. In a nation such as this where business is a veritable religion of the people, to even the most casual thinker it must at once occur that a great national loss has been entailed, when neither sympathetic effort nor encouragement has been directed toward the development of a worth-while business acumen among this group. Selfishness and indifference have of course played a great part in this great neglect, in which race prejudice always figures, but the loss in national resources must some day stun the nation to its sense of duty to all its citizens. The wrong has been done and its effects are growing more apparent day by day, but it is not yet too late to bring about a change of attitude which will bring results of a national benefit.

Some years ago Dr. Henry M. Minton made a most interesting and comprehensive study of the "Early History of Negroes in Business in Philadelphia." In this study he traces the Philadelphia Negro business man from 1780 to the present time and finds from a "Register of Trades of Colored People in the City of Philadelphia and Districts." published in 1838, that there were then 656 persons engaged in fifty-seven different occupations. Among

this list were found Boot and Shoemakers, Brass Founders, Bell Founders, one Brewer, Bricklayers, Brushmakers, Cabinetmakers, Confectioners, Tailors, Dressmakers, Sailmakers, Ship Carpenters, Sugar Refiners, Tinplate Workers, Weavers, Paper Makers and many other high-grade occupations. Just enough are here cited to show the early tendency of the Negro to get into the skilled trades. Furthermore the records show that they did their work creditably and attained success. To one of the confectioners the world is indebted for the invention of ice cream. He was Augustus Jackson, and "for a long time he enjoyed the monopoly of the sale of this delectable dessert. He demanded the monopoly price of one dollar a quart. "The catering business has been intimately linked with the history of Philadelphia from the earliest times down even to to-day. No other city in America has been so famed for its efficient and successful caterers as this, whose patronage was not confined by any municipal, state or even national borders. borders. * * *" "In fact the Negro practictlly controlled this line of business in Philadelphia and made it famous as a city of good food. * * *" "The originator of catering, the creator of this branch of business which has brought prosperity to so many here was Robert Bogle." (A Negro.)

After discussing a long list of most creditable businesses in which the early Philadelphia Negro was successfully engaged, Dr. Minton despairs that

the black man has not kept pace with the maddening rush of the business world, in the following conclusions: "In the world of trade and commerce is our position as commendable as it was fifty years ago and backward? I do not hesitate to say, No. We have retrograded. Especially deplorable is this when we note our increased opportunities for education. There is no doubt that we have not kept pace with the onward march of progress in this country during the last half century. The strides have been too long, the steps too fast. What has been the reason? So many have been given. In the trades, the labor unions have been blamed; in business it is said competition has been too fierce, with a greater demand for large capital. We have flown to the professions, with the result that we are rather top heavy. However brilliant may be the ministers or the lawyers or the physicians they are resting upon a weak foundation of hard working and poorly paid people, however sincere and race true. And again we come back to the same question, Why is this the condition? It seems to me that in those days immediately following the Civil War we sought the lines of least resistance, and these lines were found in the professions. The fact that some hung on to business and succeeded, and that new men came into some of the fields and succeeded, proves that the opportunities exist even now. I believe that if the same amount of zeal, energy and forbearance which has been directed

along other lines had been directed along the line of business we would be far in advance of our relative commercial position."

It is unquestionably true that the Negro has not maintained the pace in the business world consistent with his early adventures therein. There are, however, several matters to be taken into consideration without attempting to excuse the black man for his dereliction. In the early years the American field of business was far easier to enter and succeed in than it is now, or for that matter the last two decades. The study above referred to deals with a condition in one of the most liberal of Northern cities, which in early years stood upright and strong in its policy to aid and encourage Negroes. These business enterprises in those days, though conducted by Negroes, received unstinted and unprejudiced white patronage, oftimes, I dare say on sentimental and sympathetic grounds. That these early Negroes succeeded proves beyond question of all doubt that they gave first-class service to their patrons, for it would have been impossible for them to continue to exist on sentiment and sympathy. But the big thing, the important thing, the human thing in which we are most interested is that they were given a trial, and having been given that trial they succeeded. In those days the North was sincere in feeling that it owed a certain duty to the oppressed black man and that duty was rendered with a deep heart interest. At that

time there was no such bitter business rivalry as exists to-day and sentiment got a chance which no one can possibly expect now. Soon after the Civil War business in America began to grow bigger and bigger, requiring more and more capital to meet the increasing competition, more and more business experience, training and sagacity to meet the demands of the new era. Here it was the Negro business man, except in few instances, was forced out of trade, into fields of less resistance. Then stepped in the labor unions, forcing and keeping him out of the skilled occupations.

Thus after emancipation the Negro business man and tradesman received a staggering blow which all but caused his commercial death. When the war closed, the national resources were at a very low ebb, and in the rush to recover themselves, and aiming to provide occupations for returning soldiers, the Negro was choked out of business and the trades without the slightest consideration. Ever since the Negro has been trying to recover himself, but it has been a most difficult matter to overcome the handicaps of inexperience, labor unions, prejudice and poverty. Where before the Negro business and tradesmen had received the patronage of wealthy whites, in the new order of things they find themselves, because of lack of capital and experience, appealing to their own people for business. While there are to-day throughout the country many Negro business men whose patronage is

largely white, the majority look to and depend upon Negroes for support. In the South the Negro business man has reached a higher development than his Northern brother. This is largely due to the intense prejudice of the South which has forced all Negroes closer together for mutual protection and salvation. While the horrible affreet of prejudice which dwells in the Southland is all that is vile and sordid, its sniveling wrath has served to drive the oppressed blacks into a closer fellowship which has meant for them a greater success in business development. To-day the South offers the most excellent opportunity for the Negro business man to become prosperous, but the insecurity and lack of protection from vicious attacks of jealous hatred always makes his position a hazardous one. Yet in spite of this many are conducting large businesses successfully and are becoming wealthy. In most instances they have started small and insignificant but by pluck, energy and ability have risen to places of prominence in the business world.

In the North the indifferent tolerance of the whites has not tended to force Negroes together for mutual protection and salvation. The prejudice of the North is of a different type, and for some time has been so adroitly applied that the Negro hardly realized he was a victim of a well ordered and perfectly balanced discrimination. He was tolerated and even accorded certain restricted courtesies as long as he had a dollar to spend. To

this condition let us add the fact that the wholesale overthrow of the Negro business man immediately after the war had served to discourage him. Then for a result we have a people reluctant to enter business, which on its face does not present a very favorable promise of success. But to-day the Negro business man of the North is forging ahead and in a great measure is meeting success through the patronage of his own people, in the main. Yet in the North it is difficult to find any business conducted by a Negro which does not have a clientele composed of both black and white. Unquestionably the sun of the Negro business man is in the ascendant.

About eighteen years ago Booker T. Washington called about him, in the city of Boston, a few Negro leaders and formed an organization known as "The National Negro Business League." From a small beginning this organization has grown to tremendous proportions, with local branches in almost every city in the country. The stated object of the National Negro Business League is, "to promote the commercial and financial development of the Negro." Back of this organization Dr. Washington put his full force, with the result that its influence has done more than anything else to stimulate Negroes to enter the business and commercial field. The annual meetings, which are held in various cities throughout the country, are always interesting, inspiring and touched with a keen sense of

humor and romance, as one listens to the recitals of the black pioneers in business. But the practical good derived from this organization is always made manifest in the community in which the meetings are held, by the springing up of new Negro enterprises immediately thereafter. There are many known cases of Negro men and women who have caught the inspiration of these meetings, launched out in business for themselves and succeeded. Many who attend these meetings catch the spirit of the occasion which always rings with optimism, and return to their homes and their business determined to put forth a greater effort than before. This sort of enthusiasm is contagious and is always further reaching than it appears at first, but it is being handed on and on to Negroes and they are applying it to their endeavors for a higher place in American citizenship. One of the finest traits of the meetings of the National Negro Business League is that there is always an air of optimism, encouragement and a determination to make difficult things easy. The very fact that Negroes have formed such a national organization should have a significant effect upon America at large. Truly such a body represents much ability, much experience and much capital gained after a hard, uphill and one-sided fight. These are fighting days and we must learn to admire and respect the fighter, black and white alike. The National Negro Business League was brought into existence by fighting

men, it is to-day composed of fighting men who, in spite of all sorts of difficulties have fought for and won a place in the economic affairs of this nation. There is no denying such men, and the nation which attempts to do so makes a fatal mistake. Such men cannot be ignored, for they have placed their hands upon the helm of national trade and commerce, and the weight of their might must at lease attract an acknowledgement of a certain power well placed and advantageous.

Some day the history of the pathetic and oftimes hopeless struggle of the Negro business man will be written, and I am inclined to believe that it will furnish a wonderful opportunity for national reflection and thought regarding the part America has not played in developing this mass of her citizens into a tremendous commercial asset. Some day the history of the United States of America will be rewritten to reveal truths which a national policy heretofore has, for various reasons, deemed unwise to tell. But in adding to the world's history the momentous events which are crowding into each day, I hope we may never read that in the great crisis, American resources suffered because of willing but unskilled black hands, because of willing but untrained and inexperienced commercial minds of black men. The Negro is determined that this shall not be laid at his door to his perpetual shame, so unaided and inexperienced though he be, he is silently but forcefully building up his own defensive

structure to withstand the storm. A little aid, a little opportunity and a little welcome into the experiences of great national activities will do a power of good to the Negro and America, and may, for all we know, prevent a great national shame. What we want and most need in America to-day is a commercial world, a business world and a trade world, big enough, broad enough and sane enough to include and embrace the activities, energies and willing aid of all Americans, be they black or white. Nothing else will do. Anything else is an insane and unsafe national policy for which we may some day pay.

CHAPTER XII

Racial Grouping

We are all of one accord that the one thing the Negro most needs is organization. This is no new thought, for early in the race's history in America the Negro himself realized the greatness of such a need, and went about to effect fraternal organizations. Possibly the first such group was formed by Prince Hall, in Boston, when he in 1784 established under a charter from England a Masonic Lodge. Ever since that time Negroes have been very active in establishing a great number of secret orders, all of which have at some time done some good, and to-day are rather important factors in Negro life and progress. With all mankind the fraternal organization is the modernized development of a primitive grouping for mutual protection and the concerted strength of numbers, either defensive or aggressive in tendency and purpose. It therefore seems quite natural that the Negro in his early American life, and that of to-day, should see the need of such organizations in which he would hope to find protection against the forces which have al-

ways attacked the best interests of his race. But sometimes it appears that the Negro has gone too far in the matter by creating too many organizations, many of which are not as purposeful as they might be in the matter of establishing a definite racial integrity. While externally there does not to-day appear to be so great a need for protective organization as there was years ago, internally there is even greater need for conscious and effective organization of the race to meet present day issues. How well are the various fraternal associations meeting these needs? Are they developing a stronger racial unity which will bring concrete results?

There is hardly any activity in his life which the Negro holds so dear as his fraternal groups. There is hardly any activity in his life to which he is more loyal. If we therefore add together love and loyalty we are bound to get a result of wonderful possibilities. But the question which naturally arises is whether or not the Negro is making the most of such possibilities, by making his race a greater asset to himself and his nation. We are living in an age in which all great results come through organized effort rather than individual. In his fraternal societies the Negro has the basis for a striking and concerted racial effort to make effective those things most needed and demanded for the permanent establishment of his race as an unquestionable factor among the races of men.

While it is our firm belief that the Negro must be developed from forces within rather than from without, race organizations must not be so blinded with racial thoughts as to see nothing good, nothing hopeful and nothing essential beyond the race. He can never get away from the fact that he must benefit his nation as well as himself, and with that end in view as the one and only satisfaction to his strivings for place, he must through his organizations effect that understanding between the races which shall create a favorable national sentiment for himself. If we can but once bring together that love and loyalty which the Negro has for his fraternal associations and fuse them into a purposeful determination to serve even those without the pale, we shall have a great racial brotherhood with a sincerity of purpose potential and effective.

I am ofttimes inclined to believe that the various fraternal groups tend to bring the individual members into a closer personal fellowship rather than intensifying a racial fellowship. Furthermore I believe there is no real intention to thus narrow the purpose of such organizations, but in the main it is the result of an oversight. What the Negro most needs is racial organization first, last and all the time, and the fraternal groups furnish the finest possible fields for the cultivation of such. These societies are doing a wonderful work in aiding their members during distress, sickness and death. Their one great purpose seems to be to care for the

sick and bury the dead. This is all well enough and certainly laudable to a fine degree, but such purpose alone should not dominate. They could perform a far greater mission by aiming to teach their members and the race at large how to *live* more profitably and more successfully, which would in turn result in relieving the financial stress which comes with sickness and death. In a great measure sickness and death are preventable if living conditions are regulated by discipline, which might easily become a part of the ritualistic work of fraternal bodies. Unquestionably, because of the vast amount of sickness and high death rate among Negroes, all of their lodges are suffering from a vast economic leak which could be easily checked. Good health is always purchasable, and every such organization should find it more profitable to invest their funds for the preservation of health than to constantly drain their treasury by paying for preventable sickness and death. The Negro must make every effort possible to erase the stigma of poor health and unwholesome living conditions, and their fraternal groups can be made to serve as wonderful mediums for disseminating this propaganda.

I happen to know that in several of these organizations a part of the programme of their meetings is devoted to—"For the good of the Order." Many times one can hear some very helpful suggestions made under this order of business, relating espe-

cially to the lodge work and its improvement. How easy and how helpful it would be should these Negro fraternal bodies see fit to add another order of business entitled: "For the good of the race." I am certain that many hide-bound, fraternal fanatics will at once rise and resent such a suggestion as an irregular procedure, opposed to strict ritualistic proceedings. In order to palliate them I am willing to grant the irregularity of the act, but for the sake of the purpose which can be best served by bringing race organizations to a conscious realization of racial needs, one should be willing to be a bit irregular. In order to secure a wholesome race development there must be a consistent and definite organization of purpose. Otherwise the race will be as one groping in the dark. These fraternal organizations give birth to many strong leaders along fraternal lines, and they should be made to realize their power for good to their people if their energies are but well and practically directed. A little irregularity of a service is a small thing in itself, but out of it a great good may come, if in its perpetration groups are made to think; to think of possiblities neglected and profligated; to think of ambitions which can be realized through determined effort.

It is not with a desire to radically change the workings of secret and fraternal organizations that these suggestions are made. But we are confident of the good which can come to the Negro if in

every group ot persons coming together there is some concerted and definite attempt made to teach practical lessons in race development. Unfortunately, among the great masses of the race there is no great concern along this line, and it must be the duty of the leaders to awake this sort of enthusiasm among them. In short, such groups should serve as schools for emphasizing lessons in health, thrift, home-making, race loyalty and a general race adjustment to fit into American customs and demands. In the development of business enterprises there is a wonderful opportunity for the fraternal societies and the Negro churches to cooperate. As we have said before business development can only come with experience, and that experience the Negro must create for himself. Many of these fraternal groups are themselves guilty of an extravagant and unbusiness like waste of funds in the purchase of real estate and the erection of halls. Thus they are setting a bad business example and squandering the funds derived from a poor people who must necessarily make great sacrifices to meet their obligations. Far too many such organizations are guilty of unpractical hall investments which do not serve as a credit to themselves or the race at large. These sad experiences are all dearly bought and paid for, but in the end are destined to teach a lesson in economics and business development which must bear fruit in the future. Careful and business like investments on the part

of these organizations from which creditable returns are derived will have a wonderful effect in stimulating the business sense of the individuals who enter into their make-up, and at the same time will give them a determined faith in the power of organization. But it too often happens that too many of these fraternal and secret bodies are formed by crooks and unrighteous leaders who have no other than a selfish purpose to line their pockets with the hard-earned money of credulous and ignorant followers. This sort of thing is sapping the blood of the race and creating a harmful group of leaders who are a menace both to the Negro and the nation. Certainly there must be found some way to expose and check this blight which is as destructive as it is vicious.

Most of these fraternal organizations are doing a great good along their special lines, in that they are developing a spirit of love and loyalty among their members and teaching a high moral regard for obligations taken under ceremonial oath. They are developing a tenderer and more sympathetic attitude toward their fellowmen, which in itself is a most laudable result. But the matter we are urging is the taking advantage of such grouping to make Negroes think and act wisely upon all lines along which the race must travel to a wholesome and definite recognition and place in the affairs of this nation. True the ritual of such organizations may not call for the practice of these suggestions

we have made, but the Negro must take advantage of every group to make it purposeful, even at the expense of injecting extraneous ceremony. Without a racial patriotism, without an intra-racial love and loyalty, without a correlating and fusing of all racial interests into one vast army of purpose, racial conquest over the many obstacles which impede progress is bound to be uncertain and too long delayed. The struggle is on and we must fight with both hands free, but with hearts bound together for a single purpose.

The fraternal organizations are in a position to bring about a strong and steadfast racial unity, for they have the machinery for the work if they can only be made to see the advantages of directing their energies in this direction. There are many other strong groups into which Negroes are organized, but certainly not one which does not in some way touch one or more fraternal groups whose co-operation might be beneficial if well directed. Of course there is always the danger of running upon the rocks of factional strife, due to certain fraternal allegiance, but that must finally give way to reason when the high purpose of such co-operation becomes clear to the minds of all. Up to this time the Negro race as a whole has adopted no fixed, definite or set policy upon which to build for the present or the future. Many individuals and groups are working out a plan according to their own ideas as they view the needs of the race, and many of

them are doing a fine upright work which is bringing results. Many of them are highly trained specialists in their particular line, being well fitted for the work in hand of leading certain groups toward certain goals. These individuals and groups are essential to the life and development of the race, and we would be much worse off without them and their unceasing labors. They are fighting a valiant fight and winning all along the way, but in order to serve the race best they must all co-operate upon one definite policy which places the preservation and advancement of the Negro above and beyond all individualistic strivings. They are but highways all of which lead to the one great avenue of racial integrity along which all together must travel to the Temple of Success.

The Negro press represents in the main a tireless and indefatigable group of workers in the field of racial uplift. They are on the offensive and defensive always with equal zeal, in sunshine and storm, fighting the battles of their race. This group is doing much to mold a sentiment which is bringing Negroes to a higher degree of race consciousness as they are drawn into a closer knowledge of racial activities and accomplishments through the medium of the press. While some who make up this group are purely mercenary and have no policy except that which is always purchasable, it is a pleasure to record that the great majority of those who compose the Negro press are honest and loyal to

their race, whatever the cost. They are daily fighting the battles of the race from every standpoint and urging justice along every line without fear or apology. We have said they are molding sentiment among Negroes, and we do not hesitate to say with as much certainty that they are molding sentiment among whites in favor of the Negro. They are always upon the trail of the enemies of the race and very seldom fail to smoke them out in a shameful admission of unjust utterances or action. With an equal zeal they discover the friends of the race and hold them up to praise and urge a high regard and service toward such stalwarts. They have made leaders of the proper calibre and unmade many an unrighteous attempt at unscrupulous leadership. They are the defenders of the race, the mouthpiece of the race, the advocates of justice, and taken all in all make up a most effective race group, which is rendering masterful and unselfish service.

Elsewhere we have spoken of the need for better housing conditions for Negroes, especially in the larger cities. Most every such city now has its building and loan societies, which are doing much to aid their black brother in purchasing homes. These societies, operated, supported and controlled by Negroes, are doing much to teach the black man the dignity and independence which come from home ownership as opposed to renting. Possibly there are not enough of these worthy institutions,

but they are on the increase and are doing much to stimulate thrift among Negroes who have ambitions to reach higher in life for the benefit of themselves and their families.

In order to teach the advantages of good health and hygienic living with the hope of reducing the high sick and mortality rate among their people, Negroes have established their own hospitals all over the country. Of them and their struggles against poverty we have also spoken elsewhere, but nevertheless they are doing a wonderful work and developing real men and women in the process. As yet their number is too few and their support is too meager in order to effect the results for which they are striving. But they form a race group which is attracting more and more attention by demonstrating the willingness of the Negro to share his own burdens, and an attempt to erase the stigma of poor health and a high death rate from his people. Great sacrifices in time and money are being made by this group, but that to them becomes a pleasure as the results begin to roll up in a conspicuous and satisfying number. A greater recognition of the service they are rendering the Negro and the nation will some day come, and with that will come the support which is due them.

Closely allied to the hospitals are the Day Nursery and Orphange groups, which are bending their energies toward the proper care, training, education and development of Negro children. These

groups, much like the hospitals, are too few and too poorly supported. But at the cost of great sacrifice they are being conducted by those who have dedicated their lives to the child. It should require no amount of argument to emphasize the need of these groups, for they are devoting their lives and their energies toward helping those who cannot help themselves. Negroes most thoroughly realize their duty to the children of their race, but financial support is not coming as it should to aid these dear little ones. But those who have made possible such groups are building upon the hope that a fine spirit of co-operation is in the near future.

Against the barbaric outlawry of the South, Negroes have at various places established Legal Defense groups. This has been made necessary because of the almost utter impossibility for the Negro there to get even a semblance of justice from the courts. But by the organization of groups a greater force has been exerted and the treachery of the courts exposed in such a way as to secure at least a more tolerant attitude from these tribunals. Hardly is there a location in the South where such a group is not needed, but they are all too few, for their work is commendable and greatly in demand. A greater racial support is due this group. Too much credit cannot be given the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," a strong and worthy group of determined Negroes and their stalwart white friends, for the manner in

which they have stood to secure proper legal defense for defenseless Negroes throughout the land. Such activities of organized groups are bound to get results quicker than individual efforts.

Associated with the hospitals, day nurseries, orphanages and other similar institutions are many Social Service groups, who are struggling to bring more comforts and a better adjustment into the life and homes of the unfortunate members of the Negro race. Those who have been misguided through ignorance, design or intent are sought out for the purpose of changing the course of their lives into a happier and more satisfactory channel. These groups are doing a kind and humane service, the results of which no one can appreciate except those who have seen the sun shine into a life which had given itself up to perpetual darkness. This getting down to the basic principles of life demonstrates the earnest desire upon the part of the Negro group to serve their people with their whole heart, soul and body. Ofttimes they do their work so quietly that the outside world does not know that they are doing it, but the results come in the souls saved, the homes cheered and the race glorified. This group is playing its part silently but potently and the race must find a way to co-operate with this organized effort to save the lost sheep—the prodigal one.

One of the most essential of all is the Teachers' group who are directing the education of the Ne-

gro. They have a great field and a great purpose, and it is pleasing to record that as a group they are living up to the responsibility thrust upon them. Education must ever remain the backbone of progress and this group thoroughly realizes the seriousness of its mission. In many instances the teachers are hampered in their work, but nevertheless they are struggling on with a deterimnation which must always demand respect and support. They are aiming to give the Negro the best possible, realizing that this race cannot afford to endorse superficial education, regardless of its type or kind. In the South the lack of sufficient schools with creditable facilities and curricula is serving as a dreadful handicap to these earnest workers. This hateful and unrighteous impediment to Negro education in the South calls for a united stand upon the part of the race and the nation.

Besides these groups, of which we have given but a brief resume, there are many others which are bending all their energies along their particular and specialized line to place the Negro before the world as a useful and capable citizen. Among these may be mentioned the Home and School League, the Industrial Insurance group, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, and many other groups whose efforts are being directed toward the same goal, but along different channels. Without a single exception each

group represents a high purpose and each is doing a laudable work from which results are being derived, despite the fact that none of them are getting the sort of support and co-operation which is due them. This is not said in accusation of the Negro or the white man, but to call attention to a sort of national indifference as to the fate of the Negro. In calling attention to these various groups it is our intention to show that the Negro is rather well supplied with organizations, but there is no fixed *organization* of his organizations, Many of these groups are working along their particular line faithfully and honestly, yet without sufficient knowledge of the purpose of other groups to effect the sort of co-operation which is necessary to lift the Negro with one steady pull together. There is not a forceful or determined inter-linking of forces among these groups, which must necessarily mean a duplication of energies which saps both strength and effectiveness. This is written with no other hope than a desire to urge a determined co-operation of all the forces which are striving for race betterment. Through such co-operation we shall witness the emergence of the race out of darkness without clash, and resplendent with all the glory of the rising sun upon a new day.

CHAPTER XIII

Political Urge

There are some persons who contend that from several standpoints the Negro was unfortunate upon his entrance into the politics of this nation. They say he came in through the front door when he should have come by the back way. By this they appear to argue that politics should have been for him an evolutionary process instead of the precipitate head-first fatal plunge, taken immediately after emancipation, and that he has been busy ever since trying to get started right. We are almost ready to fully agree with such argument but we cannot help but assume a defensive attitude in so doing. The hideous political orgies which debauched the American Government during the unhappily named "Reconstruction Period" were perpetrated by white men. The Negro was merely an incident in those disgraceful affairs, but he alone has been made to pay for the crime, at the cost of the ballot in many instances. White men of the North and white men of the South have met over the dead body of that most unrighteous *System*, shaken hands

with each other and forgiven everyone—except the Negro. Yet withal, the Negro was the ignorant and inexperienced dupe of the whole disgraceful affair, the only one absolutely blameless for the chaos, and certainly the only one who still to-day is paying the penalty. Thus we are willing to grant that the Negro's entrance into the politics of his nation was under most unfavorable, venal and sordid circumstances, but of the white man's manufacture, not his. So when discussing his front door entry, let all stop to consider who led him through that way, and why, then who kicked him out the back door into the alley with the hope that there he would stay!

Enough of the events which concern the early political history of the Negro! We are now vitally concerned about his present day political status. The political alley has become too small for the Negro and he is coming out, coming with a rush that no sane man will attempt to stop. Again we say, the Negro is thinking, thinking for himself, and it is a well-known fact that the next step after thinking is—action. Each day finds the Negro realizing that he is being more and more hedged in by a vast political system which is circumscribing his attempts toward a free and full citizenship. For too long he has been getting the husk while the kernel has been passed to others, so now he is beginning to demand a more equitable distribution of the kernel. It is a great national misfortune that

America has never been able to dignify politics above the level of a great spoils system upon which countless multitudes of the unfit thrive. This condition of affairs giving birth to insatiable greed has operated with an untold force to keep the Negro out of politics. With but few exceptions the thirst for power has no attraction to the average politician unless it gives an economic advantage. This is a wonderfully significant situation which must strike with equal force upon all apostles of good government, be they black or white. But it does exist and is doing much to keep politics in America in a sort of close corporation from whose dividends the Negro is excluded. This nation has witnessed the day when upright men turned their backs upon politics and regarded the very name "politician" as a badge of iniquity. Even to-day conditions have improved but little to glorify a rotten system, which has debauched the souls and bodies of men who have hoped to see the principles of democracy made supreme and typified by American government.

Men who have made laws to evade the laws of the Constitution for no purpose other than to rob black men of a share in the government for which they have toiled, fought, bled and died must go down in the history of this nation as traitors and foes to democracy. Yet these are the men who make the laws under which the Negro in the South can alone hope for that protection which is assured

all our citizens. These are the laws made in certain sections of this country concerning which the Negro cannot by his ballot say yea or nay. Can the Negro feel secure under such? Can he feel the thrill of a real protected citizenship under those laws in which his interests are always attacked and never vindicated? Will this great government ever have the courage to force the South to respect the Constitution and the rights of all men who have given and continue to give willingly their all to this nation? This solution is left to politics which in America more often seeks to destroy than to build up; to politics, a game played for power and economic advantage, without loyalty and without respect toward the principles and institutions upon which our fore-fathers builded a great nation. What hope then has the Negro in this one-sided and merciless game? Certainly none, except he forces himself into the play with all the power, vim and energy that he can command, though it strain and tax every fibre in his body to stand the wear and tear of a vicious system which has sought to eliminate him as a citizen in a democracy. Many advise that the Negro should stay out of politics as it will tend to debase him. This is a fine reflection and a frank confession upon the viciqusness of a system, founded by white men, a creed which directs the very soul of the nation. The Negro nevertheless cannot afford to take this advice. He must risk contamination for the sake of his salva-

tion. If the price must be paid he can and must pay it. He must play the game to the limit or get out altogether, and it is unsafe to his race interests to get out.

Not only the Negro but every decent, self-respecting and patriotic citizen, without regard to his race or color must enter the field of politics and strive for a purer ballot for all men. To refrain from entering a movement upon which the fate of the nation hangs because it has been prostituted and exploited by the unscrupulous, and for fear of becoming contaminated by its venom is a most unpatriotic stand to take, and no true American can afford to take it. In the South, where political tricksters have flung defiance in the face of our Constitution by disfranchising the Negro, a system of political and judicial outlawry has developed which has brought shame to the best blood of that land. But instead of injecting themselves into the fray with the hope of restoring the South to its pristine glory, they sit idly by washing their hands of the whole disgraceful affair, and leave their land to be devastated, dishonored and disgraced by the control of the vicious. Even the nation at large assumes a spineless attitude toward the outrages committed in the South against a citizenship represented in America by more than twelve million souls. Such a condition is disquieting and the Negro is beginning to feel it more keenly as a greater education, accompanied by a greater self-respect is

coming to him. Not only the Negro is beginning to see the unrighteousness of such a principle, but there are many whites who regard the possibilities of its outcome as hazardous to national unity and that safety which unity alone can assure. The political situation in America to-day calls for strong men, black and white, to enter the field and purge it of that venom which has inoculated and stupefied our principles of justice to all our citizens.

Can the race question be taken out of politics? Most certainly—no. The race question is an American institution just as politics is, and the latter must help answer the former. Their destinies have for too long been so closely interwoven that it appears they must continue inseparable with a hope that some day they will effect an understanding and adjust their differences amicably. Much, however, depends upon the part the Negro of the present and the future plays in politics, always struggling to safeguard the interests of his race. Upon the other hand, much depends upon the attitude politics is willing to take toward the Negro in asserting a wisdom of policy which shall bind all men closer together for national preservation, made easier without bitter strife and unscrupulous dealing. America has permitted herself to become so thoroughly involved in a bitter race struggle which has been both so costly and soul destroying, that now she finds herself in a position which demands a satisfactory solution, which shall not undignify

either herself or the Negro. Much of the trouble began in politics and much of it must be settled through the agency of politics. The bi-racial instinct may forever remain, but it must be seasoned with a justice, the integrity of which no man shall be able to question. In fact, the Negro has no desire to cross the color line for the purpose of social assimilation, a condition which he does not regard as an advantage, but this noxious line must give way for his economic and political advantage, in order that the nation may get a full value of his worth and usefulness. It is a matter of vital concern that this nation immediately see the advisability of incorporating the black tenth of her citizenship into the body politic, not with a mere sentimental regard, but with a fine sense of the value of the Negro's patriotism, love, loyalty, friendship and service to the cause of Americanism. This can be done without affecting the identity of the race, a thing which the Negro himself is guarding more jealously than any white man knows. This is the sort of "Reconstruction" our American politics must undergo, in the performance of which the race question is answered in a human way, race identity preserved and the nation strengthened and glorified.

June 5th, 1917, will forever remain a day memorable in American history. That registration day for conscription saw Negroes in the South come to the polls, many for the first time in their lives, and

write their names upon the honor role as citizens and willing protectors of America and her ideals of democracy. The "Grandfather Clause" subterfuge was not working that day. There was no shotgun intimidation, no bully rule of Southern swashbuckler and no throw out of ballots. All men were counted alike, except that America's bi-racial instinct was "on the job" to tear the "corner" off. But the most significant fact is that all "voted" without regard to race. Why? The government of the United States had the matter in hand, and this leaves us without a doubt that if such can be done once it can be done *always*!

Must America be stretched upon the torture rack of international dissentions and strife before she shall render unto the Negro the things that are justly his? Must America wait until she cries for help before pledging a new spirit of tolerance and justice to the black man?

The recent exodus of Negro labor is slowly but surely teaching a lesson to the South. When the South took the ballot from the Negro's hand she robbed him of his only legal protection, which at best was always of meager worth in that land of hateful injustice. But it was something to have, a mere straw to clutch at with a hope for safety. That gone, the Negro aroused to find himself surrounded by the enemy, who has since plied him with every oppression, indignity, humiilation and inconvenience which could possibly be born out of the breast of a savage. Patiently, stoically, stolidly the

Negro suffered as no other people in the whole wide world would have done, yet withal forged ahead until one day a call came out of the North, and a new sun of a new day shone upon a new freedom as the pilgrim went forth into a new land. To-day the economic heart of the South bleeds, at a time most unpropitious for the health of the nation. But a great truth has been set forth, emphasizing that it is an unsafe and childish policy to attempt to develop a permanent economic system among a people who are not permitted to vote. The ballot is their only protection, and there can be no permanency without a sense of security. In all these the South has betrayed the trust of the Negro, before the eyes of the nation which sat looking on unmoved and indifferent, apparently unsuspecting that some day both the actors in this hideous, inhuman drama, and the audience alike must pay for sorrows bitter and bloody sighs they have ground from the hearts of black men and women.

America fought her great war for freedom as a protest against taxation without representation. To-day there are millions of Negroes in the South who are being taxed for the support of a government in which they have neither vote nor representation, and from which they derive no adequate protection for their rights as citizens. Yet at this very moment America stands as the world's champion contender for a democracy which shall spread over the entire globe. However, we have learned

to know that when America talks of the blessings of instituted democracy, the question of the black tenth of her population receives no consideration in her mind beyond a vague indifference and unconcern. This, unfortunately is the general American attitude taken in regard to the Negro, for whom concern comes as an afterthought, only when stimulated by a reminder. It is quite true that the South has had a tremendous situation to deal with in regard to her ignorant black masses but after all it is of her own making and justly her legacy. There are times when we feel like sympathizing with the South, but when we think of the inhuman and barbaric way in which she had handled a human issue, our sympathy always goes out to the blacks whom she has disfranchised and outraged with unspeakable terrorism. We offer no defense for ignorance in politics; in fact, we believe all men should come up to a certain standard of intelligence before given the right of suffrage, but such can never be an equitable rule when color alone is the basis upon which it is established. The illiterate white, of whom the South has many, and the illiterate Negro should receive the same treatment at the polls. All through the South there are millions of Negroes who are intelligent, thrifty and law-abiding citizens who are receiving no credit, no recognition and no protection such as the ballot alone can give. In dealing with this question the South has set up an oligarchy which has flung

defiance into the teeth of the Constitution, and our national government has most shamefully acquiesced and backed down from the lofty principles of a democracy which she to-day preaches to the world. Disfranchisement in America is the badge of a criminal, but the South has legally (?) placed this brand upon the Negro, while the North and the nation have said but little more than nothing. Out of this condition have developed great hordes of irresponsible blacks, sullen and revengeful against a system and a people who have outlawed them and stripped them of every vestige of hope, protection and manhood rights. The courts of law the Negro has learned to regard as his enemies from which he can expect nothing but punishment—never justice. Thus the desire for revenge on the part of both whites and blacks in the South strikes a terrible blow to economic development, and prostitution of the courts of law brings first disrespect, then suspicion and finally outlawry.

Now let us turn to the North and observe the political situation there. We have said before that there is no place in America which affords an ideal citizenship for the Negro. Some places are better than others, many worse, but none ideal. In the North race hatred is not nearly so intense, bitter and menacing as in the South, yet there is always present enough prejudice to keep the Negro constantly mindful of his color, and a victim of the embarrassments and inconveniences suffered there-

from. With the ballot in his hand, the Negro theoretically holds the power to demand and receive a full citizenship. Too often, however, he is not making his vote yield him the force and respect which can only come from having a definite purpose in mind every time he casts his ballot. The political machine of the North is just as merciless as that in the South, except that it is run with the oil of flattery and promise rather than with a mixture of venom and blood. In the North the Negro gets a chance to make his vote effective for race betterment, but always he must wage a battle of wits, which if he loses, is generally his fault. His success varies in different localities, which is always measured by the extent and potency of his organization combined with the wit, resourcefulness and integrity of his leaders. Within the last decade the Negro has suffered a retardation in politics, mainly because many of his leaders have been advising him to refrain from political activity. Some have advised him to keep away from the polls and others advised that he simply cast his vote as a patriotic duty to his country, but in both instances the following of such advice meant that he has neglected voting as a duty to himself and his welfare. But that day is now past; the Negro is beginning to take his race seriously and is teaching the white man to do the same.

Cleverly and insidiously the white political leaders have built up a machine among themselves

reeking with discriminating tactics which little by little has attempted to crush the political ambitions of the Negro. With a brazen effrontery, which is too comical in its aspect to be taken seriously by even the the most ignorant Negro, they set themselves up to dictate what is good for the black man, what is enough for him, and remind him to be satisfied when it seems that he expects too much. But if these wonderfully wise leaders think they are fooling the Negro they are destined to learn to their sorrow that their game has been poorly played. The Negro has been content to remain patient with the hope that such patience would receive its reward. But the average political boss has no conscience (truth and honor are unknown virtues to him), so in his quest for power and self-aggrandizement, pompous with nauseating conceit, he attempts to *startle* into submission those blacks whose votes he once begged. The veil is too thin, the Negro has seen through it all and at the same time learned a valuable lesson, that too much patience is surer to lead to defeat and subjugation than to reward.

In the North this is the sort of political iniquity the Negro is facing, and unless he determinedly organizes his voting forces against it, his rights will be dreadfully curtailed. American history is replete with instances in which men have ridden to high place and political power over the scrawny necks of black men, who have patiently awaited the

promised reward that never came. But instead there comes the rebuff with impatience, the dictatorial threat, the discouragement of ambition and the vague promises when former Negro supporters seek an audience with these pompous vacuities. The black man who will permit such an outrage perpetrated upon him is a traitor to himself and his race, and I am happy to record that every day finds the Negro and his leaders dealing a blow of defiance at this sort of political Czarism. The Negro vote is helping to build up a system of merciless, hard-headed bossism, whose slimy, invidious trail creeps all the way from precinct to presidency. Along this trail are strewn the bones of disappointment, misery, depravity, humiliation and injustice, left to whiten in the sunlight of a nation's glory, while the canopied caravan of the creators rides on joyous and—forgetting. The triplex issue of the Fifteenth Amendment, the Boss and the Law, which threaten the destines of a republican form of government in America must be manfully met and settled—settled *right* or reap a harvest of sorrows. What the Negro vote has been coerced into helping *build* up through flagrant and repudiated promise, it can with equal ease through a determined assertion of manhood rights, *tear* down. The leaders of the race have sensed the mistakes they and their people have made in being too credulous in the past, and they are entrenching themselves for a fight to recoup their losses. Fortunately the

majority of these unscrupulous leaders are a cowardly lot whose apparent bravery is all bluff and bombast, which will wilt into a vague nothingness before a concerted attack of determined race leaders. The fight is already on, and on to stay until victory, seasoned with justice, is won.

Nor is the Negro making this stand alone, for there are many good, fair-minded, upright white citizens who have sickened at the sight of a wretched political system which has not only debauched the ignorant and unsuspecting Negro but certain members of their race also, who in the vicious process of boss-making have been outlawed by society. These instances in themselves are not edifying to our rodomontade civilization, nor do they bristle with the ethical teachings of Christianity. It is always the same story of a mad, hysterical struggle for power without regard to the cost, paid in human suffering. The Boss, with his cunning play for power upon the weakest of a weak and new race in civilization and politics looms up as a glaring, hideous menace to the enforcement of the laws of our fathers and our God. Drawn into the maelstrom of politics by the siren song of promise the black man struggles hard in the new and untried sea, only to find in the end that those who bade him come with them have glided on to safety, while he still battles with the waves or is cast upon the rocks of shattered hopes. When he cries for help, the Boss points the way

toward another outlet into which the unfortunate plunges, and drifts down to iniquity, lawlessness, vice, crime, degradation and ruin. To such conditions the Southern oligarchy will point, as the great calamity from which they are saving the Negro by disfranchising him. What a sweet, tender sympathetic spirit on the part of the red-handed South! As Puck says, "let us weep rivers of tears." There might be some reason in such an argument were it not for the fact that the entire American underworld, black and white alike, is the product of, supported, aided and abetted by a vicious American political system, from which even the virtuous South has not escaped. In the North the decent Negro has the opportunity to stand beside the decent white man as together by their ballot they register their protest against such unwholesome debauchery. In the South the Negro can only lift a timid and cautious voice in protest against the stench emanating from the iniquitious stew of race filth sanctioned by the South as a relic of the lust of slavery. With this side of the race question the South is satisfied, "corrupt and contented," but they fear to give the black man his ballot, for they are certain he will employ it in all its force to check the rape of his people, whereupon a favorite Southern pastime will pass into an "innocuous desuetude."

American politics is a bizarre and incongruous creation fashioned along the lines of least resist-

ance. In his fight for power the great American Boss refrains from contact with the best types of black or white, with all the dread that nature manifests in her abhorrence of a vacuum, until his purpose is won. Then he arises with all his brazen insolence to dictate the terms of government and emoluments for all. Those of the underworld to whom he is indebted for position are left behind reeking and seething in the licensed crime and debauchery which he has taught them is their reward. This nation as yet has failed to see and count the cost, economically and morally, of such disregard for law and justice. Where two races live in such close contact, the sin and vice which infect one, infect both, and that law and justice, both born of politics, which can be made to serve and save one, must be made to serve and save both, or democracy in America becomes a nickname.

In America, politics has so many ramifications which affect the destiny and advancement of the race, that the Negro must see to it that the political boss, if made by his vote, shall give his cause a just and impartial hearing. But it is most important of all that he shall develop political leaders of his own race, men whom he can trust and men who are not vassals to a system higher up. In order to fix his political status above the plane of a mere recipient of favors, and above that of the suppliant, cringing sycophant who is content to accept the crumbs which fall from the master's table, the Negro must

take every advantage of his ability to control the balance of power and submit to the guidance of his own leaders. Throughout this entire country in every division, precinct and ward where Negro voters are in sufficient numbers to make their influence felt, they should overthrow white leadership and set up their own. This should not be done with any intent to arouse bitter race feeling, but as a protective measure for the interests of the black man, which the white leader is so liable to overlook. There is no way of having a thing so well done as doing it yourself. Such a political stand is bound to earn for the Negro a place in the councils of the mighty, because his value and his worth are bound to bring him recognition. In municipal, state and national politics a determined effort should always be made for elective and appointive place, but especially elective. It has never been so necessary as to-day for the Negro to see to it that his race has representation in all the affairs of this government, in order to assure himself protection and prove his worth, right and ability as a citizen. Such is the only way to bridge the gap which prejudice has gnawed between the Negro and a national understanding and adjustment of race conditions. Not until this is done shall America really and truly have a government "of the people, by the people, for the people," in which race and color are regarded as mere incidents, rather than a calamity branded with the badge of unrighteous discrimination.

CHAPTER XIV

The Follies and Psychology of Prejudice

A short time ago a most capable and intelligent Negro lawyer living in the North had a very important case which made it necessary for him to go South. The lawyer, who represented the same interests in the South, was a white man. After a conference the two lawyers agreed upon the brief which they should draw, whereupon the white lawyer called in his stenographer to take down the dictated notes, upon which he proceeded. But shortly he came to the portion in which the Negro lawyer was better versed than he, so he asked the black man to continue the dictation from that point. The Negro lawyer began, the white stenographer with livid face and eyes flashing anger stopped her work. Immediately the white lawyer sensed the difficulty, repeated the dictation after the Negro and the stenographer resumed her work. In this way the brief was finished and the feelings of a very sensitive white woman were spared a "fatal" bit of "ignominy!" This affair happened in the extreme South. A few days later

while at work upon the same case in a Southern city further North, the identical conditions arose, except that the stenographer took dictation from the Negro lawyer but blushed throughout the process.

Such incidents might have happened in the North as well as in the South, but one may be quite certain that no such petty actions would occur elsewhere than in America. The color line upon which race prejudice is founded is such an uncertain, vague and varying thing, subject to no rule except custom and habit, overflowing here and contracting there like a winding stream with unstable banks, that one never knows just when he will find himself trespassing upon its "sacred" precincts. Yet one thing every Negro knows, is that his every activity in his life must some place, some time be touched and circumscribed by it. We cannot say that it is unyielding, for in fact it is very flexible but always constant and certain, made strong through a hidden force which suggests the mental alertness of the white man founded upon hate, jealousy and fear. Many times the individual white practices prejudice toward the Negro against the impulse of his own conscience and judgment in order to subscribe to the customs of this *hysteria Americana,* whose creed dictates a fanaticism beyond the comprehension of its most ardent worshippers. Even the reluctant acceptance of a custom which shows all the signs of a mental dys-

crasia serves no purpose, for the expression of the individual has become subjugated by a whim, brutal and inane. Yet there are many who seek immunity from insinuating ridicule beneath the shadow of a pernicious custom, which has a stronger pull on their hearts than has conscience. Ofttimes it is easy to get them to confess that they are ashamed of the prejudice which they have learned to accept as a badge of the white man's superiority, an artifice entirely unsatisfying, inadequate and insincere. Yet these are they who yield to such malicious influence in order to escape what they regard as the embarrassment which follows the evil and excoriating accusation of being "Nigger lovers!" The cause of prejudice is therefore always traceable to the timid and cowardly attitude the average white man takes on the race question, in which principle and conscience are sacrificed upon the altars of a bigoted custom. Thus the intense psychological phases of prejudice lead us to diagnose the affliction as a paranoia, in which the delusions of superiority, self-exaltation, bombast, unreasonable reminiscent fear and timidity are predominant.

Many whites contend that prejudice in America was born out of a defensive policy which strove to preserve the integrity of the white race against the encroachment of black blood. This spirit still lingers and tends to destroy rather than save and serve the nation. If there ever was the need of a defensive antipathy that day is now past, and there

are now more vital measures up for consideration which cannot be smudged with the petty principles of a needless intolerance and aggression against a people who, in spite of discouragements, are striving for personal and national uplift. Then, too, to hold such a belief is not flattering to the white man's confidence in the integrity of his race. This is not the stone age in which man fights his way to the woman of his choice, clubs her into insensibility and drags her by the hair of her head to his cave to recover, reflect and remain. If there ever was a time when the Negro threatened by invasion the integrity of the white race, that day is no more, for now the Negro is as much concerned in preserving and keeping his race intact as the white man is in regard to his. But there seems no way to convince the white man of this fact, who having exerted all his energies to hinder, ridicule and discredit the Negro seems yet to fear that all the elements of aggression and attractiveness have not been crushed out of him. Rather with fear and trembling he beholds the Negro through education and culture developing a more determined spirit of progress and a greater attractiveness not only to the whites, but fortunately for both races, to himself also. This attractiveness to self should serve to quiet the fears of the white race with a force equal to that with which it is welding the black race into a closer fellowship of conscious harmony. If the Negro ever wanted to be white or mingle

his blood with that of the white race, that feeling is now a relic of other days. Thus the white man's prejudice becomes a series of follies which serve to embarrass, inconvenience, disgust and amuse the thinking Negro, but can never deter his ambition and righteous determination to demand a citizenship founded upon equity, protection and justice.

Apropos to this groundless fear of racial assimilation, does it not seem about time that the *womanhood* of the white race should arise and stop this idle prattle of their timid and uncertain men relative to the danger of Negro men marrying them? I am sure the *womanhood* of the Negro race would resent any insinuation upon the part of their men which even hinted at their inability to preserve a discreet mien in matters so vital to racial integrity. An intense gregariousness is the tendency of every race and people when they have built up among themselves a civilization and culture which satisfy. This trait the white man is so quick to recognize as a Negro characteristic, that it seems his philosophy must be at fault when he strives so hard to deprive the Negro of that justice and economic opportunity which would create within him a satisfaction and attractiveness to himself. But no, the myopic vision of prejudice looks only to discourage and humiliate a people with the hope that they may never become a factor with a potentiality functioning beyond its consant but imperfect gaze. The whites who suffer from this *hysteria Americana* seek

to strike a pose and attitude which they hope awes the Negro with its seriousness, when actually the black man regards it all as a joke, ofttimes a bit annoying, but always a joke which evokes a sympathy toward such childish tactics. Thus the Negro is becoming more and more intensely bound up within his own race group as he peers through the thin veil into the white man's soul and sees nothing more remarkable than a creation by artifice founded upon ages of advantage, toward which he, too, is struggling, with a hope that is unconquerable and inspired with the thought that a better day is just ahead.

In one of the large Northern cities an amusing incident happened some months ago. A very wealthy and prominent white citizen had died and upon the day his body lay in state, a young Negro pharmacist who had acquired his education through hard work, called at the house to view the body. At the door an officious butler stopped him to inquire what he wanted. The Negro stated his mission, but the butler told him to wait a moment. Shortly thereafter he returned with a member of the household, who asked, "Who are you and what do you want?" The young Negro produced his card, at the same time replying, "I am ———, and called to look upon the face of Mr. ——— for the last time." "Why are you so anxious to see him?" asked the member of the household. "Was he a friends of yours?" (this sarcastically). "Yes and no,

too," replied the other, "but I knew him very well." "How was that?" "Well," replied the Negro pharmacist, "I used to be his butler." "Oh!" exclaimed the relative, "that's all right, come in."

Even in the solemnity of death prejudice lived to embarrass a Negro who came upon an upright and tender-hearted mission. But when the admission came that fixed the former relation which had existed, prejudice wavered and disappeared. This may have been a very unusual incident and it may not have been, but the succinct feature of it all typifies the average attitude of the average white man in the practice of his prejudice. Just so long as the Negro is willing to permit the white man to fix his status and regulate the character of his contact with other white men, prejudice always assumes a milder and more tolerant form. But the conscious or unconscious expression of the paranoiac delusion of superiority, which asserts itself when the white man beholds before him a Negro who shows all the characteristics which he alone is supposed to possess, awakes the jealous nature of prejudice. To meet what appears to him these unusual conditions upon the part of the Negro, the white man, in striving to protect his most vulnerable pride, flies to his mantle of prejudice and wraps himself within its copious folds. The only cure for this sort of folly, which is both pathetic and unnecessary, is to effect a closer and more frequent touch between the better class of Negroes

and the better class of whites, in order that they may know more of each other and realize that they both are striving for the same things in life, though each remains upon his side of the color line.

A close analysis of prejudice in action reveals many and various phases and emotions hid within its slimy coils, exerted not so much upon the individual or the race as upon that which the individual or the race does or does not represent. Primarily it is a mental opposition evolving from a preconceived judgment of a disordered mind, which eventually works itself up into such a frenzy as to make physical touch and contact seem repulsive. Finally a custom is so permanently established and its application becomes so general that men lose sight of the hallucination which has produced their prejudice, and regard themselves and their actions as normal. The growth and development of this false sense conception in America which has been particularly and specifically directed against the Negro has produced a sting whose venom is retroactive upon the heart of the nation. Each day finds the Negro more thoroughly conscious that he, without a fixed or definite motive, is being made a victim of unreasonable judgment sordidly inflicted by a people whom he has by all his teachings been taught to respect, and from whom he had been led to expect higher, nobler and better deeds. But this prejudice has not been executed against the Negro *per se*, rather has it been a creation growing out of

the conditions which have attended his advent into this country, and those which have featured the various phases of his life, struggles and citizenship here. By accepting slavery as his lot without a fighting protest, and failing to assert his determination to die rather than serve, he brought down a two-fold curse upon his head. First he was reduced to the status of a beast and treated as such, then made a victim of all the contempt of those whose greed and lust he satisfied through unrequited toil. Thus ever since emancipation, when the white man beholds the Negro as an individual or as a group striving for creditable place, his prejudice recalls his disdain for the conditions out of which the black man emerged, and he ruthlessly attempts to block his path, still always forgetting the part he played in that dark and inhuman drama of other days. Then as he observes, that in spite of all his nefarious practices, the Negro is slowly but surely forging ahead in a manner which he regards as a too presumptuous and impudent ambition, the delusions of fear and jealousy become obsessions, producing a hideous delirium of hate.

The Jew is keenly alive to and talks freely upon the manner in which prejudice is directed against him in America. While it is of a different type and kind from that exerted against the Negro, the Jew is nevertheless made to suffer many humiliations and embarrassments craftily manipulated by this dreadful mania of inconsistency. Externally and

superficially it would appear that the prejudice against the Jew had its origin upon religious grounds, were it not for the inconsistent fact that each day finds the average white defender of the faith killing the very spirit of Christ by repudiating His teaching and practice regarding the BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. The color line stands between the American white man and Christ!

It may be quite true that there still lingers a vague reminiscent aspect which features the practice of prejudice against the Jew, but the real cause back of it all is an invidious and ulterior motive which stimulates the fires of a respectful hate for the shrewd business acumen of the Jew. The American white man has been met and beaten at his own game by a people for whom it has been so easy to create a sentiment of hate through the agency of a traditional and apparently righteous prejudice. But the Jew is meeting the condition manfully through the defensive power of the dollar, the one god before which all America falls prostrate in ceaseless and tireless worship. Because of his great wealth and intense race unity he and his people are prepared to demand more respect and consideration than the Negro, who is without both wealth and a positive race solidarity. Yet nevertheless the Jew keenly feels the venom of hate covertly and openly poured upon his race, but with a philosophy much like the Negro's, he views the many follies of prejudice with a smile which

tempers his wrath, and causes him to wonder if all the jewels of consistency are lost, strayed or stolen..

A few days ago I attended a professional ball game and sat beside a Jew, and we dropped into a conversation. The pitcher on one of the opposing teams was a Jew, and my neighbor remarked that he was a great performer but his team-mates never played well behind him. I was interested and asked him why this was so. "Simply because he is a Jew," he replied, shrugging his shoulders significantly. Whereupon I remarked, "that hardly seems probable, for it is certainly inconsistent to have a man on the team and not give him support when the purpose is to win games." "That's just it," he replied; "race prejudice is always inconsistent, yet it endures. This sort of thing gets to be a rather bitter joke with us, but we expect to overcome it all some day by continuing to WIN." I brought two thoughts home from this game, one was that the Negro must adopt this sort of hopefulness under fire. The other was, that though my neighbor may have been a bit hyper-sensitive, this unrighteous prejudice in America is breeding a sensitiveness upon the part of oppressed races, which unless given an opportunity for abandonment must eventually retard the development of national spirit.

The Jews and Negroes are not the only races who are made to feel the sting of American preju-

dice. But the fact that the others have a national government back of them tends very much to temper the treatment accorded them, which is governed by a diplomacy both expedient and advisable. In a great "melting pot" such as this nation is, there is bound to be much seething of unrest both justifiable and unjustifiable, but the prevailing spirit of American arrogance and intolerance is breeding a subtle and dangerous prejudice on both sides of the various racial lines. Every patriotic citizen must immediately agree that such a condition may yet be attended with perilous consequences, and since America has hung the various racial millstones about her neck with her own hands, she must be temperate enough to adjust herself to their weight without unnecessary fretting.

The most significant fact of all is that prejudice begets prejudice and hate begets hate. Each day finds the Negro more keenly feeling the intensity of the white man's prejudice against him, with the result that he, too, is developing a greater prejudice and hatred toward the white man. This is an unfortunate condition of affairs which is not laudable in either race, but the result is psychologically and morally natural. The prejudice of the Negro is as yet a low form of muttering delirium, of which the white man pretends to be unconscious and is inclined to ignore as harmlessly insignificant. So instead of aiming to temper his attitude toward the Negro with justice, he is consciously or uncon-

sciously fanning the flames of hatred and adding fuel thereto, for no other reason than to remind the Negro that he is he and I am I. In the North there is a school which is teaching young men to be ministers of the Gospel of Christ, who in turn are expected to teach people the ways of the Gentle Nazarine. In this same school there are a few Negro students of the same Christianity, who because of the "conscientious" objections of the other students are forced to take their meals at a separate table. The American Church of God stands for this! What a fine "clinic" is this in which to teach the Brotherhood of Man!

As yet the Negro has not attained a position of sufficient power to make the white man feel the sting and bitterness of his prejudice. But that day must come in order to make the white man adjust his attitude as a defensive measure, since he cannot be persuaded to govern his actions according to the high and lofty principles of humanitarianism. When race prejudice rises to the heights of open enmity and an open fight is made, the Negro may lose, but nevertheless he has won! Then will come a recognition which qualifies him to a place of decided respect. Men may not love a fighter but they will respect him. In the South to-day prejudice has developed into one grand carnival of hate whose viciousness is unspeakable, indescribable and sodden with the venom of ferocious wrath. It has become an infectious disease, which

has inoculated both races, manifesting itself as a sloughing ulcer rotten with the microbes of fear, hate and jealousy, from which the horrible toxines of revenge are poured forth into the hearts and souls of a people. Between the sub-strata of both races an under-handed and unprincipled struggle is being waged, in the seething vortex of which men's souls and bodies are being ground to powder, yet nothing is settled, nothing is gained. Not until this issue reaches the dignity of an open fight of National scope will there be a surcease to the ravings of this maddened monster. The man who, in a fit of hate lynches his brother man for a crime imaginary or real, is nearer hell than his victim, and for the time being the devil may get the wrong man,—but eventually Satan wins. America must, therefore, determine some day soon whether she shall settle her issue with this horrible prejudice in God's way, or leave it in the hands of the devil!

Mr. Murphy, who has written learnedly upon the race question, believes that fewer Negroes in the South will develop a greater sense of security on the part of the whites and will make conditions easier for the Negro. The recent exodus from the South is giving us a chance to see Mr. Murphy's theory proven or disproven, yet the howl which has gone up from the South seems to show that between the two "evils," insecurity and the Negro, they prefer—both. Since the hordes of

Negroes have left the South we have not noticed any dearth of barbarism, lynchings and the many other manifestations of prejudice and its hate, at which the South is so adept in the application thereof. Without its sense of insecurity which the South has developed through its own acts of unwarranted injustice toward Negroes, and without its Negroes to afford an excuse for its barbaric practices, it would suddenly find it incumbent upon itself to adopt the ways of civilization. For this, it appears the South is as yet unprepared. Its instinctive love for the man-hunt with its yelping blood-hounds and blood lust have for these *Americans* a romantic and barbaric charm which lingers, despite the price they pay. But the significant fact back of Mr. Murphy's belief which emphasizes the admission of insecurity experienced by the whites of the South, points to the psychological nature of prejudice which is always founded upon hallucination. There need never have been any such fear upon the part of the whites, had not their mania for prejudice, so viciously executed, driven fear and the desire for revenge into the hearts of ignorant Negroes.

Unquestionably the Negro is himself to blame for much of the prejudice which he is made to suffer. The great ignorant and vicious masses of the race present a condition which is causing much concern as to the best method to deal with the situation. At times the task of lifting them

out of chaos seems almost hopeless. But when one stops to consider that their condition is not due to their own choice, and that they are the result of a National neglect he must certainly feel that he owes a duty to this his fellowman. If after emancipation the freedmen had received the benefits of a tender but firm and wise guidance, a different condition would prevail to-day. Certainly there would still be the low types, such as tag upon the end of every race, but their number would have been less and their conduct would be less liable to create the prejudice which has grown out of disgust at a product, in the making of which a Nation has sinned. No one feels more keenly the short-comings, the disgusting and nauseating traits and behavior of the Negro masses, than the upright cultured classes of the race. Each day finds them more and more vitally concerned in the almost hopeless task of checking the ravages of this terrible menace to the progress of the race. The leaders of the race are recognizing the fact that the untutored masses are making an already bitter prejudice more bitter and at the same time more unreasonable. More unreasonable because his prejudice has made the white man both blind and indifferent to the honest, capable and righteous advancement of the thrifty, upright and cultured classes of the Negro race. He gives no concerted or consistent support to the leaders of this race in the great task they have undertaken to lift their

masses out of the depths. His prejudice has developed within him indifference, intolerance, neglect and fear of criticism which may come to him, should he dare to stray away from the arbitrary standards of an unholy custom.

The Negro has been unfairly and untruthfully criticized for an illegal zeal exerted in protecting the criminals of his race, and upon this the white man has built up another cause for the practice of his prejudice. This accusation may be true among the criminal classes who must naturally be expected to protect their kind, just in the same way that white juries refuse to hold and convict members of their race who have lynched a Negro. Only the case of the juries and officers of the law is even a greater crime, for in so acting they have shown their defiance and disregard for the laws of the land, to which *they* look for protection. But upon the other hand the law-abiding better class of Negroes desire to see the criminals of their race punished by a due process of law, with the hope that such will teach a lesson of respect for that law. But they do protest against, and are justified in aiming to protect their criminals from lynching, a process by which the number of criminals is increased rather than diminished, and the law is broken and left unsatisfied.

Incident after incident could be cited to show the inconsistencies and follies of a prejudice made operative against Negroes who are conducting

themselves in a manner directly contrary to the unscrupulous acts which the white man declares are the causes of his prejudice against the black man. All over this land there are Negroes who hold "no name positions" in which they occupy places of trust, but because of race do not get promotions consistent with their value. In many corporations are to be found Negroes who are doing nothing but clerical work, but they must wear *the uniform* of a porter or messenger, for no other reason than that of their race. What is the answer to this? Race prejudice. What is being done to encourage efficiency among these workers? Certinly nothing. The old excuse that Negroes and whites could not work side by side in the higher positions of trust has just been shot to pieces, for the recent stress and exigencies in America have proven otherwise. It has been said the Negro could not be depended upon to do technical work, and he did not do it for he never got a chance, but he is doing it now, because stress over-ruled prejudice and gave him the long deferred chance. The white man prates about the danger of social equality which he fears will come if the races are thus brought so closely in contact in the fields of the high grade occupations. This is absurd upon its very face, for the white people

do not have social equality among themselves. The high grade white man never fears this. It is always the lower types whose social position is insecure and uncertain, who are most concerned.

Put in plain terse language, the white man is never "game" on the question of race. He is a poor sport. Prejudice is always the result of an insecure and uncertain mentality influenced by hallucinations in which the childish instincts are predominant, and tend to over-ride the judgments which the mature mind would seem to dictate. A very distinguished and intellectual Negro some years ago went to Europe on board an American vessel. When he came to take his dinner he took a seat at the table with the rest of the passengers. Many of them made a protest and took their complaint to the Captain, who promised if possible to help them out of their most embarrassing dilema. Shortly thereafter he approached the Negro and told him of the objections to his presence at the general table, and stated that if he did not object he would provide him with a separate table. "Very well," replied the Negro, "I shall willingly consent to most anything to spare the feelings of my fellow passengers." At the next meal the Negro was found seated at a separate table in a most delightful location, at which two waiters were rendering most perfect service

and attention. Just as soon as the other passengers noticed this, which they immediately did, they went to the Captain, this time with another complaint and asked him, "Why is so much special attention being paid to that nigger?"

CHAPTER XV.

The Furnace for Gold

There is no one answer to this race question in America. Its many phases must yet be squarely met and squarely answered. America may think she will settle her race question to suit herself but she cannot unless it suits her to settle it—right. No half-way methods will do, and America should realize this in asserting her stand for democracy. Within her great power lies this one opportunity to prove her sincerity in the cause she has espoused before the whole world. Honesty and duty must be practiced at home before it can be consistently preached abroad. Just so long as the one tenth of her population are oppressed by unrighteous discrimination and unjustly robbed of the full rights of citizenship, America does not herself represent the spirit of democracy she is preaching to the world. This Nation may be inclined to feel that at present she has other questions more vital to settle, but in such an assumption she shall yet be made to realize that she is making a grievous mistake. The attitude

America takes now in regard to her race question shall play a great part in determining her position among the Nations of the world when the final adjustment comes. Of one thing we are now certain, that the black man has sat at the *Peace Table*, and it begins to appear as though the race question for the entire world is destined to be settled in Africa.

Whatever the attitude of America, whatever the result of world crises, the Negro must continue to build for himself a culture, a worth and an integrity which shall definitely fix his status high among the races of men. Much has been done. Much more remains to be done. The race as a whole must be brought to a conscious realization of its duty to itself and the Nation in order to make easier for both the task of a fair adjustment. What the Negro needs most of all is leadership of the type which sees the race as it is, as it was and as it must yet be. He must have leaders who are fearless and truthful, yet at all times diplomatic. Leaders who have the courage to point out for the purpose of correction, the errors, mistakes and failures on both sides of the color line. The Negro must learn to hear and know the truth about himself, for already he has been too long deceived as to his position in civilization, which has wrought more harm than good to the race. Impatient and insincere leaders of the race have done their people more harm in attempting

to make them see the Negro as all right and the white man as all wrong. This is a false and untrue stand to take and one which gets both races nowhere, as it tends to kill sympathy, the one virtue most needed in effecting an understanding between each other. There never was a time when the Negro needed so much to know the real truth about himself as now. Truth need not cause despair and depression which in turn kill hope and ambition. The Negro cannot afford to be hopeless or downcast, yet there must be found a way to make him conscious of his struggle without permitting himself to be discouraged. At the same time it is just as essential to a proper understanding between the races, that the white race have leaders who dare to tell their people that the whites are not all right and the blacks are not all wrong. Let us together get at the kernel, the heart of this situation by turning on the search light of truth, trusting it to reveal the mistakes that have been made and are now being made on both sides of the color line.

The whole situation is abnormal and there can be no fixed rule for meeting it. With the majority of Negroes there seems to be no set definite race purpose, and there never will be until they have developed a firm, honest determined and definite leadership. Everyone seems to be striking out for himself, and I have heard only too many say that they regarded the race question as purely an

individual matter, and there their interest ended. This may shock many as a truth told with bitterness and inopportunely, but rather it is told out of an earnest hope that it may emphasize to all Negroes the need of a concerted race purpose which dethrones the individual and sets above each and all, loyalty to the group. The structure erected by Negro progress is rather inclined to be more ornate than substantial, upon which have been reared a multiplicity of turrets each representing individual strivings, whose material might have been used to better advantage in building for solidity and permanence. This in a great measure has been due to the lack of race architects and the unwillingness of the masses to accept the designs and patterns submitted by the few who have drawn plans for the erection of race solidarity. To-day, the Negro as possibly never before is realizing the need of honest and intelligent guidance stripped of individual selfishness. He recognizes the need of varied leadership, the need of *specialists* in race building.

The task of the Negro leader is no easy one, because beset with difficulties many and varied. Self-appointed leaders are a menace and a failure, because selfish. The real true leader must grow out of the hearts of the people, whose needs he appreciates and stands for their expression and fulfillment. On the other hand the masses present difficulties fraught with all sorts of dangers to

leadership, because of ignorance and suspicion, the latter too often justified. But in order to build up a permanent race structure, there must be a creation and acceptance of leaders in the various avenues of civilized endeavors. As education becomes more general there will be a more selective choosing of leaders as well as a training and a willingness to follow. A constituency of a higher type will do much to make their leaders need to grow and they are bound to improve in force and value as the members of the race improve, and at the same time develop a caution and care in handling situations vital to race interests.

Every now and then there crops out in various localities a tendency toward white leadership of Negro groups. This must be regarded as unfortunate and fatal to the interests of the race, as well as unnecessary and too often insincere. For the sake of argument let us assume that the whites who aspire for a position of leadership among Negroes do so with the best intentions, as many of them really do. In the first place it is a difficult matter to find white persons who know enough of the Negro and the conditions under which he is struggling, to appreciate his needs, realize his hampered position and at the same time recognize the limitations of their leadership. In the next place there is too often the tendency upon the part of well meaning whites to adopt the Negro as a fad, rather than accepting him as a serious

proposition demanding serious consideration. Sympathetic sentiment extended toward the Negro must be regarded as a virtue of wonderful possibilities, but it is only the beginning. Yet once begun and unaccompanied with practical help and a realization of his value to the community and Nation, simply results in so much mis-spent energy. Unquestionably for a safe and permanent development of the Negro he must have strong and intelligent leaders of his own race, who alone are able to interpret the viewpoint of their people. But these leaders need and must have the support and advice of sympathetic yet discrete whites of the best type, in their endeavors to lift their people higher up. The situation which is bound to get the best results is that in which Negroes are themselves the leaders, while their white friends act as consultants, ready, capable and willing to back up the efforts of these black leaders with the best of public opinion.

The Negro must have the fore-sight to see that a wise, careful selection and development, then the following of his own leaders, are the elements most essential in building up a fixed racial self-respect and self-confidence. As the masses, burdened with despair and hopelessness, behold the leaders of their race receiving their just reward for meritorious contributions to National affairs, they will be stimulated to lift their heads and hearts in an attempt to throw off the ignominy of depravity,

born of oppression and indifferent neglect. The loud, vulgar crowds without respect or regard for themselves or those around them, the vicious, loafing, irresponsible hoardes of blacks are just as repulsive to the better class of Negroes as they are to the whites. But even in them Negro leaders of the proper sort will see a hope and a value no white man could possibly comprehend, however liberal he might be. These masses are but waiting for the guidance of firm but tender-hearted leadership in which racial altriuism plays a predominant part. They are simply waiting in their child-like, untutored and uncouth simplicity for some one of their race to reach his hand down to them, call them brothers and bid them come out of the depths up a step higher upon a solid footing. For this task real leaders are needed and they must come from the ranks of black men, who first see in it a duty they owe to their race and next a responsibility they owe their Nation, which in the end are destined to pay dividends to all concerned.

That, to which we are so often inclined to refer with a certain disdain and ridicule as peculiar Negro traits, is but the expression of humaneness, an element still almost untouched with artificiality. This the Negro possesses in greater measure than any other race, and is exemplified in his natural love for all men, his happy gentle nature, his smile of sunshine and a normal freedom from malice.

But the bitter treatment which has been accorded him in America has played a vital part in prostituting and debauching these delightful human elements, which we may yet all but too late learn to regard as our most precious assets. The Negro was not born to hate but he is being trained to hate! Into that merciless, and all consuming caldron of an abnormal economic struggle we have poured our hearts, bodies and souls without ever stopping to count the agonizing cost in human suffering. The great white race which today represents the acme of man's civilization, in their feigned and imaginary struggle for existence, have with inhuman and maddened ferocity poured the vials of their wrath upon a well nigh helpless, yet confiding people, with no thought as to the shock their civilization must yet suffer for such unrighteous acts. Without a doubt the Negro has presented a situation in America unusual in many aspects and always perplexing. But the condition has been aggravated by the intense and unyielding economic welfare waged between the lowest types of both races, with the result that the infectious nature of such a strife has spread its venom of hatred far beyond its normal bounds. While it would be most highly desirable to purge the ranks of both races of their faulty and deleterious elements, such seems an impossible feat, and the only feasable remedy is to impress these types with the iron rule of inflexible law which teaches them

the majesty of National force. There are so many of this class who have neither respect for, nor conception of, National patriotism or National honor, and their every act is prompted by individual desires of a most selfish nature. Just so long as such a condition exists, the persecution and oppression of the weaker group will continue with unrestrained and increasing frenzy. America has thus far been derelict in her duty to her lowest types, in that she has neither taught them to fear nor respect the majesty of her law. The individual or group which does neither cannot be a true patriot, and no nation can expect to exert a full normal force when a portion of that nation is without respect, a portion brazen with fearlessness and a portion is unhumanly oppressed.

Living in the age we do, the Negro must always struggle to keep himself beyond the pale of the inquisition of poverty and its consequent inability to demand respect, by making a decided stand for economic betterment. In view of the terrible cataclysm the world has just witnessed, it cannot be much hoped and certainly little feared that he shall develop his economic nature to the degree of selfish and intolerable inflation which has damned the white man's error in misinterpreting civilization. Yet it is to be deeply regretted that the Negro does not seem to have the characteristics of the pioneer, nor does he persistently and consistently struggle with an intense purpose to go

deep into matters, to search for the way, the knowledge, which will lead him to a perpetual and satisfying light. He is too easily satisfied with the mere glimmer and gloss of appearance and seems too content at being the thing in name, without being it in actual experience and worth. A civilization cannot be builded upon such basis, and Negro leaders are recognizing this fact in attempting to teach their people the advantages of an intense application to all matters in life. They are aiming to teach them to do little things in a big way, ordinary things in an extraordinary way. But in the matter of acquiring and attaining efficiency and all that it implies, the Negro has not yet had a man's chance. Nevertheless he cannot afford to fail in making the best of the small opportunities which are being, and have been given him, for the manner in which he acquits himself at such small tasks must ever serve as a test of his ability to meet and overcome larger opportunities. Yet the peril of his failure or the glory of his success must always spell the shame or honor of this great Nation.

In his preparation for economic, political and social victory, the Negro must present a solidly united front, flanked by leaders trained along special and specific lines to carry the inspiration of hope, faith, love and the vision of accomplishment made easy through unity, into the hearts of every member of the race. The condition most

fatal to Negro progress is the tragic and lamentable disunion of his forces. In some ways the race is united, but in others it is not. It is united in complaint, in condemnation of wrongs done, but not bound together in its efforts to overthrow tyranny, by making such forever impossible through determined and purposeful accomplishment. For some strange reason the Negro seems to have been a long time in getting a proper conception of the value of unity in all his strivings, as the one and only panacea for all his ills. Race unity has been preached from pulpit, rostrum and press by Negro leaders, with some good results, but there is not yet a firm and wholesome fusion of all race interests manfully concentrated upon the needs of their people as a whole. Let us be frank. There is too often a physical grouping within the race, whose camps are psychologically at war with each other over minor and petty physical details, during which apparent individual gains lose their lustre amid the smoke of a battle which succeeds only in retarding the interests of the whole race. The various admixtures in the Negro race makes them a race of varied emotions, desires and ambitions. First this hinders because it tends to keep them from being wholly united, but later on the results in finer, higher, truer expressions must come, as education and the iron hand of custom train these varied emotions to a oneness of racial purpose. There is no one thing

so important to the successful development of the Negro as the purposeful fusing of all the groups within the race, and in the place of intra-racial dissension let him enthrone intra-racial love, born of that consciousness, that loyalty and faith which know all elements of the race as one, whose intent and purpose must also be one.

Within the race there are bound to be factions and schools, radicals and conservatives, all of which are normal and essential to civilization. In the main these creations are the result of the conflicting of personal opinion, in the majority of the cases entirely sincere in purpose, and usually calculated to be beneficial. But the one thing, the big thing, the saving grace of the black man, rests in the immediate and continuous recognition of the fact that no amount of various racial admixtures, however great or small, makes him any less a Negro, under the circumstances, in which custom has fixed the status of his race. Whether this custom is right or wrong we shall not attempt to say, for we face a condition and not a theory, which the Negro must make the best of or fail. In shaping his economic, political and social policies he must be one as a race if he expects to succeed. This is unquestionably the most important lesson Negro leaders can possibly carry to the hearts of their people, and in so doing they can most effectively wipe out the petty jealousies of

Negro apostates who are daily crucifying their race upon the cross of hateful disloyalty.

A great fault to be found among many of the Negro leaders is their reluctance in being open and frank with their people regarding the short-comings and failures which are retarding racial progress. They seem to fear the consequences of unpopularity, and thus because of an unrighteous selfishness the race is permitted to struggle on ignorantly blind to the truth. Telling the truth of conditions which are hampering racial development may at first seem to make leaders unpopular, but I am inclined to believe that the Negro to-day wants to know the whole truth more than ever before. For he is realizing the need of a correcting force which shall set him in the right path, such as truth and frankness can bring to him. There is no need, and it is hardly possible that such revelations should discourage the Negro, but should rather tend to make him more conscious of a difficulty capable of being made easier, through knowledge of the obstacles which impede his progress. The leaders who insist upon misguiding their race through frumperies directed against the whites, and are taking little or no cognizance of the part the Negro himself is failing to play, are to-day obsolete. The day of their imagined and misconstrued services to the race is past. The Negro to-day must have men, real men, fearless, frank men as their leaders. None other will do.

There are in America three Negro groups which have it in their power to direct and guide the race with a greater degree of efficiency and force than all others. They are the pulpit, the press and the fraternal organizations. They touch the masses, and it is among this class that the shaping of the race must be wrought. Elsewhere we have discussed each of these groups and shall not here repeat to any length. Each is a specialist directing the building of the race along specific lines, but the great possibilities they all contain, certainly demand that their work be done side by side, looking toward a definite and fixed race structure, whose symmetry must not be sacrificed upon the altars of selfish misunderstanding. The race and its minor leaders look to these groups as the most potent mediums for the distribution of vital thought, to be later rendered into concrete accomplishment.

At the present time in the North, there has been created an abnormal labor condition in which recent Negro immigrants are playing a most important part. Their presence is causing some alarm among both blacks and whites, but unless both stand side by side and do their duty by them, we may yet reap a harvest of regret. Unquestionably the Negro has saved the economic situation in the North under most unusual and artificial conditions. But the whole matter is bound to become a vital issue when normal days return, unless some prep-

aration is made to meet the situation now. If the reaction ever comes, the Negro must himself bear the burden, so he must regard it as his duty to prepare to make such a catastrophe impossible. Leaders must be found to organize these imported black laborers for the mutual protection of all. There must be leaders to teach them the value of efficiency, the cost of misconduct, the worth of reliability and finally the protection of their interests. From among the three groups mentioned and with their co-operation we should be able to find leaders for the much needed labor organizations. There is a great need for such leaders who are gifted with the foresight to start upon the task of establishing among Negroes a determined and fixed industrial preparedness group, always ready to supply capable and efficient workers when needed. Efficiency is the only certain means by which the Negroes, who are now on trial, can keep their grip upon that which they now hold as the result of a unique situation. To teach this sort of efficiency and its value, there must be leaders and labor organizations among the blacks. The press has already been alert to this need and made a call for such leaders. The church and fraternal organizations must co-operate, as they so easily can, by opening their edifices and halls as meeting places and centers for enlisting and tabulating efficient workers. This but emphasizes one need, a present need, yet a very vital one, to which all

the forces of the race must be brought with the hope of saving a situation which means much to the industrial life and development of the Negro.

Each of the constructive groups to which we have referred elsewhere has its leaders who are devotedly interested along their particular line of endeavor. All have much to do, and when it is considered that many are striving under severe handicaps, they deserve great credit. But in race building leaders must arise above themselves to place their talents alongside those of other leaders, and together bend their united and co-operative energies to the task. In every economic, educational, moral, political and social endeavor, effort must be made to build solidly. First there must be local leaders, from whom evolve state leaders, who will in turn develop a National leadership, which stands for a definite and fixed policy regarding the status of the Negro as a factor in the affairs of his Nation.

It is most interesting to record that the Negro woman has been the one to first attempt a practical and feasible co-operation and correlation of her varied forces in the matter of race building. An organization known as the "National Association of Colored Women," which has adopted the significant and striking slogan, "Lifting as We Climb," is rendering an effective and telling service to the whole race. This association of women has been formed by the federation of local and

state activities among women into a strong National group, with a policy and a determination to get positive and concrete results for the Negro. This is the sort of affiliation we are urging for all race groups and their leaders, which is the only sane method upon which to erect a permanent structure. Conditions have forced upon the Negro woman the burden of responsibility, and her contributions as bread winner to the economic welfare of the race have been remarkably important in amount and cohesive spirit. Organization with her for a set purpose is more intense and more resultant than among men. The women of the race work in greater harmony, with greater sympathy, for they know more the meaning and value of home life and the sanctity thereof. Women are setting the ideals of racial development higher than men and henceforth must be recognized as leaders, potent leaders, in the great racial struggle.

While the Negro is busy attending to the various matters which require adjustment within the race, he must at the same time give due and careful consideration to the white man's viewpoint. The white race is in power and the Negro must make every reasonable effort to live in harmony and friendship with him. Diplomacy is as yet a field almost untouched in attempting to effect an understanding between the races, yet herein lies the answer to all present and future difficulties between Nations and races. Diplomacy may be

practiced without the sacrifice of manhood or dignity and is certainly the only sane way to clear a very perplexing situation that now exists in America. The conditions which exist in the North and South while bearing a general similarity are of a distinctly different character, and leaders black and white must strive in a human way to answer a human question in the manner best suited to their individual section. No definite satisfaction can ever come to either race or to the Nation as long as each attempts to settle the question by abuse, ridicule, unscrupulous dealing accompanied by vicious and inhuman attack. Both sides have made and are still making mistakes, which are in turn effecting National honor, strength and poise. For the sake of the Nation if for nothing else, white leaders and the National Government must be frank upon this most vital issue in America. They must speak out as men, as Americans and not be content to shift responsibility by continuing to leave the settlement of this question to future generations. Such an attitude is both cowardly and un-American. That the Negro has a decided value and may yet be made a greater asset to the Nation is without question, but America has failed not only to recognize it, but has further refused to develop it to a degree in which it may be made to best serve both races and the Nation.

Both the Negro and the white man are too often inclined to make the same mistakes, in that each regards all of the opposite group as all wrong and if not all wrong, certainly the purposes and methods of each are viewed with unreasonable suspicion by the other. In plain words, the Negro and the white man do not trust one another. This is a sad and lamentable condition to exist within a Nation founded upon the sainted principles of democracy, yet both are to blame for its existence. It is just this sort of feeling which continues to breed antagonism between the races and makes each inconsiderate of the sensibilities of the other. The Negro masses must be brought to know the necessity of improving their personal appearance and conduct at home and abroad, which too often makes them appear so conspicuously disorderly as to *invite* insult, disdain and prejudice down upon their heads. It is true that Americans are naturally impolite and have little regard for the feelings of each other, and while the Negro cannot afford to be, because of its fatal consequences, conditions tend to make him always upon the alert to resist insult and injury too often unnecessarily directed against him. This is the sort of thing which tends to make all Negroes more or less hypersensitive, for the attitude and general conduct of most whites are inclined to regard all Negroes in one class. But one thing the white man must learn to know now and for all time, is that the Negro

who is making history is not the Negro at whose antics he smiles, at whom he casts his insulting ridicule and regards as a National misfit, but there is a new Negro near his side and fast becoming a valuable National asset. For some strange reason the white man seems unwilling to admit the existence of this Negro and does not seem anxious to know this better type of black American. There is also one thing the Negro must learn to know, that all whites are not alike and are not inclined to add insult and chagrin to his hardships. There are white men and women who are absolutely fair and square on the race question, and they are giving of their wealth and ability to ease the situation. True their numbers are as yet few, but with the sort of righteous co-operation the better types of Negroes can bring to them, their numbers and their influence are bound to be increased.

Finally, this whole matter is a vast National question which demands a National answer. Now is the time to answer it. This question is now the business of the Nation. While we are at present engaged in lifting oppression from those across the seas let us also attend to this matter at home, now that our minds are so altruistically inclined. Holding down more than twelve million people in our own land is both undemocratic and a waste of time, which is resulting in lost National energy misspent and certainly unprofitable. Before the crisis is past, America may need all the energy

she can possibly summon to her aid, so why not see the advantage of friendly energy in which the hearts of the whole Nation beat as one, in one harmonious accord? With this thought in mind it is my hope that our National Government will see the wisdom in making a National and official study of this vast question, with the determination of answering it once for all and in a way to suit all. To that end let our National Government appoint a commission composed of capable and sincere whites and blacks, whose duty it shall be to make a thoroughly comprehensive and unbiased study of all the conditions entering into and surrounding this great National issue, and report their findings with recommendations to Congress, urging its action thereon. This may seem rather drastic to some, but such is the only practical way to meet the situation and adjust it fairly and squarely for all. The matter has been left in the hands of the people, and they have failed after sufficient years of trial. Instead of clearing, the whole situation has become more clouded and more intense, and unless the Nation takes a hand now, it may yet result in a serious calamity which will set American civilization back many centuries. Let us have peace! Let us have a real democracy! Let our Nation point the way to both!

The Negro is loyal. He is even patriotic, but not enthusiastically so. He cannot be human and be so at the same time. He wants to, and will fight, has fought for his Nation. He has much to fight for, for the sake of his country, for the sake of learning how to fight, how to be a fighter. God in heaven knows how he will fight for democracy, if that democracy be genuine. But he cannot forget, he cannot endorse the American policy of lynching, burning, killing and the disfranchisement of his brethren. His great hope is, that as his usefulness is more and more proven to his Nation a better day for both will come. He realizes that he must fight to win, but his normally peaceful nature prays that his fight may be waged with the friendliness of justice, without terrorism, riot and bloodshed. He hopes that in America he will not have to wait for that sort of justice which never comes to an oppressed people until the relentless leader classes have felt the sting of the lash. He wants peace and harmony on earth for all men, as his tender loving heart bleeds for all oppressed peoples with a sympathy, the value of which he so well knows. Ofttimes when the way has seemed darkest, the cup most bitter, and life most worthless, his tender sympathic love for God and man has burst into a saving kindly light, set glowing by the touch of the hand of the immeasurable Master of men.

The man next door is the friend of all men. Are you his friend? He hopes you are, but despite all he has faith in you, in himself and our God. "The fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold; but the Lord trieth the hearts. For gold is tried in the fire and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity. If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small."

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